





ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

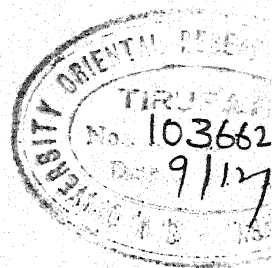
# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the Series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1972

EDITED BY  
**DR. Z. A. DESAI**  
Director (Epigraphy)



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GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI  
1980





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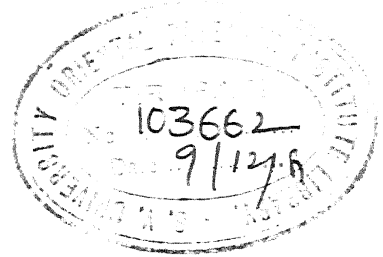
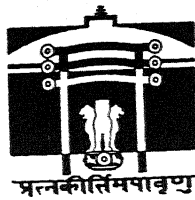
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103662

*Price : Rs. 42.00*

PRINTED AT I.H.M.M.R. PRINTING PRESS, TUGHLAQABAD, NEW DELHI

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT 1972

## A NEW INSCRIPTION OF SULTAN BALBAN FROM THE STATE MUSEUM, PATIALA, PANJAB

By S.S. HUSSAIN

Epigraphical Assistant

At the suggestion of Dr. Z.A. Desāi, then Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions and now Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Nāgpur, I undertook a tour in March-April, 1974, to such places of Haryāna (particularly Mewāt region) and Panjāb which were famous for antiquarian interest and historical importance, to copy known as well as new inscriptions, if any. The one selected for study in these lines was found by me, during this tour, at Paṭiālā,<sup>1</sup> capital of the erstwhile state and now headquarters of the district of that name.

The inscriptional slab is at present stored in the Panjāb State Museum, Paṭiālā. Through the kind permission of Dr. S.S. Talwār of the State Department of Archaeology, Panjāb and facilities provided by Dr. Mohan Singh, Curator of the Museum, I was able to copy this epigraph, which on detailed examination later at Nāgpur, proved to be a new record of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Ḡhiyāthū'd-Dīn Balban (1265-1287). To both of these officials I am thankful.

The slab is reported to have come from Nārnaul,<sup>2</sup> a town of sufficient antiquarian interest and historical importance, in the erstwhile Paṭiālā State and now a Tahsil headquarters in the Mahendragarh district of Haryānā. However, efforts to trace its exact provenance or to ascertain the circumstances or time when it was brought to the Museum did not yield any result. But there is little doubt that the epigraphical tablet has been long exposed to inclemencies of weather and neglect prior to its change of place, as the writing carved in fairly good relief is badly damaged rendering its decipherment extremely difficult. Fortunately, with the help of Dr. Desāi, it was possible to make out a considerable portion of the text which proved to contain a hitherto unnoticed record of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Balban.

So far, eleven inscriptions, including one in Sanskrit, of this Sulṭān are known and published; quite a few of these are fragmentary and damaged.<sup>3</sup> The present inscription is

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1973-74, No. D, 250.

<sup>2</sup> Nārnaul, situated in 28° 3' N, 76° 10' E, lies on the Rewārī-Phulerā (Chord) Section of the Delhi-Ahmadābād route of the Western Railway. For a brief history of the town and its monuments, see *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, p. 222; Ḡhulām Yazdānī, 'Nārnaul and its Buildings', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. III (1907), pp. 581-86, 639-44. Quite a few inscriptions still exist at Nārnaul, for which see *ARIE*, 1972-73, Nos. D, 31-44 and *ibid.*, 1973-74, Nos. D, 129-39.

<sup>3</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1913-14, pp. 25-32, 35-46, Nos. IX-XV, pls. IX b, X a, X b, XI b, XII, XIII a, XIII b, and Appendices A&B; *ibid.*, 1937-38, pp. 5-6, pl. III a; *Epigraphia Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1966, p. 13, pl. III a.

also fragmentary. The first three of its five lines of writing covering a total space of about 1.12 m. by 58 cms. are inscribed in bold letters and being comparatively well-preserved admit of easy decipherment, but the lettering in the remaining two being weather-beaten, its raised letters have considerably flaked off. The text in the first three lines contains *Basmala*, the famous Tradition of the Holy Prophet of Islām on the merit of the construction of mosques and the name of the reigning monarch, viz. Balban, with his honorific titles, while the last two lines seem to record the construction of a mosque on the 26th Šafar 671 (22nd September 1272) by a person whose name reads like ‘Umar son of Muḥammad Ghori.

The language of the inscription is Arabic. The style of writing is *Naskh* of the same type as found in the epigraphs of the period.

The reading of the text is as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate I (a)

١ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام  
 ٢ من بنى لله مسجداً بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة في عهد السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا  
 والدين علاء  
 ٣ الاسلام و المسلمين ذى الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان ابوالمظفر بلبن  
 السلطان يمين خليفة الله ناصر  
 ٤ امير المؤمنين امر ببناء هذا البقعة المباركة . . . العبد . . . عمر بن محمد غورى . . .  
 دام تمكنته ؟ مورخاً بتاريخ  
 ٥ ست والعشرين من شهر صفر المظفر احدى وسبعين وستمائة

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Beneficent. The Prophet, may Peace be upon him, has said,

(2) “He who builds for Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise. In the reign of the magnificent Sulṭān, Ghīyāthū’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn (lit. Refuge of the State and the Faith), glory

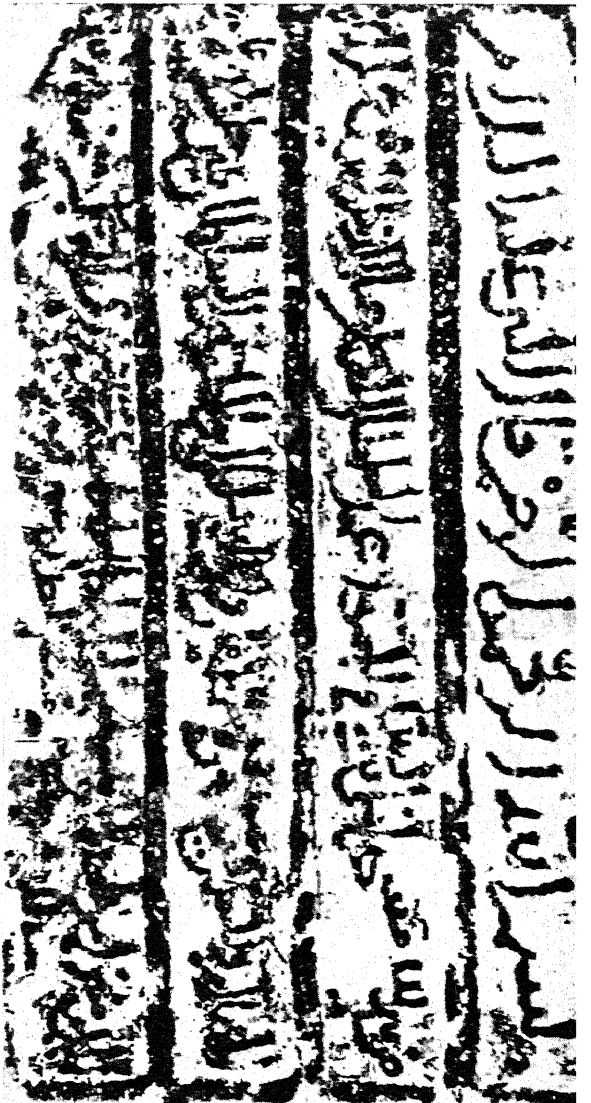
(3) of Islām and the Muslims, the bestower of safety for the men of Faith, the heir to the kingdom of Solomon, Abū’l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Balban the Sulṭān, Yamīn-i-Khalīfatī’llāh (lit. Right hand of the vicegerent of Allāh), Nāṣir-i-

(4) Amīr-i’l-Mu’minīn (lit. Helper of the Commander of the Faithful), . . . . . the humble creature . . . . . ‘Umar son of Muḥammad Ghori, . . . . . may his authority last for ever, ordered the construction of this auspicious abode (i.e. mosque). Written on the date,

(5) the six and twenty of the victorious month of Šafar (of the year A.H.) one and seventy and six hundred (26 Šafar 671 = 22 September 1272).

It may not be without interest to note that the titles used in this inscription are not to be found together in any other *single* inscription of Balban. A close analysis of the titles used in all his known epigraphs including the one under study shows that the twin-titles Yamīnū Khalīfatī’llāh and Nāṣiru Amīr-i’l-Mu’minīn are used only in his Sakit inscription dated A.H. 684 (1285 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> though one of the set of two, Nāṣiru Amīr-i’l-Mu’minīn is found

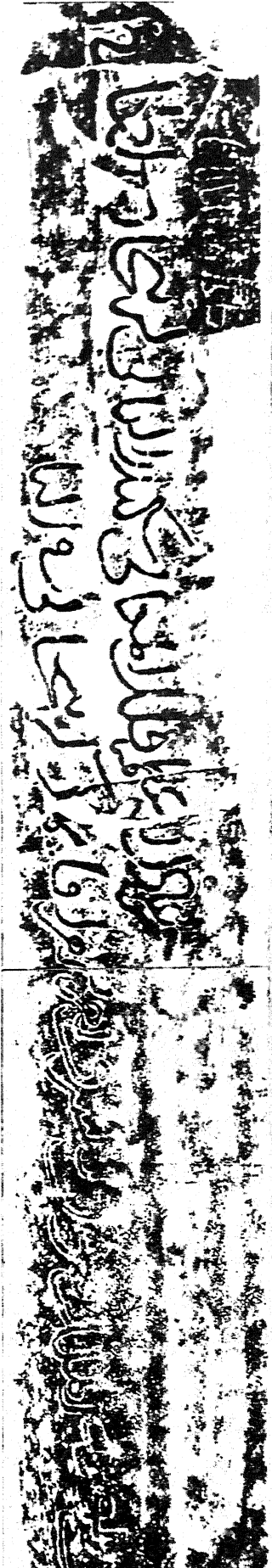
<sup>1</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 32, pl. XIII b.



SCALE : .14

UNIQUE: KHAJJI RECORD

(b) Inscription of Ikrit Khān, from Allāhābād (p. 6)



SCALE : .12





in his Garhmuktesar record dated two years earlier<sup>1</sup> and Barī Khāṭu record dated A.H. 666 (1268 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> Sonepat record dated A.H. 676 (1277 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> and Barwālā epigraph which is fragmentary.<sup>4</sup> The honorific a's-Sulṭānu'l-Mu'azzam, likewise, is used in three, viz. Farrukhnagar inscription dated A.H. 674 (1276 A.D.),<sup>5</sup> Barī Khāṭu epigraph referred to above and Jalāli record dated A.H. 665 (1266-67 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, 'Alāu'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn,<sup>7</sup> Dhū'l-Amān li-Ahli'l-Imān and Wārithu Mulk-i-Sulaimān are not used in any of his extant epigraphs known or published so far. The titles used in his other inscriptions which are not represented here are al-Imām,<sup>8</sup> a's-Sulṭānu'l-A'zam,<sup>9</sup> a'sh-Shāhins'hāhu'l-A'zam,<sup>10</sup> al-Qā'im bi-tā'idī'r-Rahmān,<sup>11</sup> Zillu'llāh fī'l-'Ālam<sup>12</sup> or fī'l-'Ālamin,<sup>13</sup> Malik-i-Mulūki'l-'Arab wa'l-'Ajam<sup>14</sup> and Khudāwand-i-'Ālam Bādshāh-i-Banī Ādam.<sup>15</sup>

The name of the builder which is not traceable in the available contemporary or other records, also adds a new name to the list of the high officials of the Mamlūk Sulṭān's court. For though the extant text does not refer to his official status or position, the customary invocatory phrase used for the perpetuity of his "authority" clearly indicates this, apart from the fact that it is not at all unlikely that the damaged portion of the text contained some such designation. 'Umar al-Ghorī might have been the governor of Nārnaul, looking after the law and order situation in the region of Mewāt and the border-area of northern Rājasthān. The epigraph might be taken to indicate that the Mewāt policy of Balban had been successful to a large extent, as the royal authority represented by his officials had penetrated beyond the hilly terrain of Mewāt, which could have been only possible after having established complete control over its marauding inhabitants, the notorious permanent source of terror and trouble to the rulers and residents of Delhi during the Sultanate period.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29, pl. XI b.

<sup>2</sup> *EIAPS*, 1966, p. 13, pl. III a.

<sup>3</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 28, pl. X b.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II (1894), p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 27, pl. X a. The coins of Balban that have come to light have limited variety of types and legends. As a matter of fact, his extant coins have only a's-Sulṭānu'l-A'zam and no other name. Again, even among the coins of his predecessors, except Iltutmish (1210-1235), the other titles are absent. One type of Iltutmish's coins has a's-Sulṭānu'l-Mu'azzam Yamīnu Khālifatī'llāh Nāṣiru Amīri'l-Mu'minīn (H.N. Wright, *The Sulṭāns of Delhi, Their Coins and Metrology*, Delhi, 1936, p. 17, No. 491).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26, pl. IX b, which appears to be a recopy.

<sup>7</sup> This is very probably the title ending in al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn in the fragmentary Barwālā inscription referred to above. Since it is not illustrated, this cannot be verified.

<sup>8</sup> Sakit inscription.

<sup>9</sup> Garhmuktesar inscription.

<sup>10</sup> Mangalaur inscription.

<sup>11</sup> Sonepat inscription.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Kāmān inscription.

<sup>14</sup> Barī Khāṭu inscription.

<sup>15</sup> Sakit and Kāmān inscriptions.

## A UNIQUE INSCRIPTION OF THE KHALJI PERIOD FROM ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

BY DR. Z.A. DESAI

In the course of his visit to Allāhābād in 1968, to survey and copy Arabic and Persian records, Mr. M.F. Khān, then Epigraphical Assistant and now Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nāgpur, came across an inscribed pillar<sup>1</sup> lying with fragments of sculptures which, according to him, were being buried in the excavated trench in the compound of the city's Municipal Museum and got impressions of the inscription in Arabic characters engraved on the pillar prepared. On his return, Mr Khān was, as usual, required to prepare its reading, but he could not decipher it correctly or completely; that part of the text, in particular, which contained the key words and formed the crucial part of the text of the record comprising a proper name and a title and *nisba* of another person in apposition to the said proper name, was left unread by him. When the inscription was seen by me for finalising its reading before listing it in our Annual Report, I found that the inscription referred itself to the time of Ikrit Khān and his protege Qā'im Ikrit Khānī, the former being a nephew of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji (1295-1315). This revelation rendered the epigraph an extremely interesting find containing new information about the early history of 'Alāu'd-Dīn's reign, a fact which was duly highlighted in the Report for the said year.<sup>2</sup> It remained since then on my list for studying it in detail for this journal, but it could not be taken up for some reason or the other till now.

In the meantime, I had started inquiring about the original findspot of the pillar. It was of primary importance to know at what place the Khalji prince had deemed fit to proclaim his kingship, in defiance to the authority of his uncle 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji, ironically enough following in the latter's footsteps, though unsuccessfully. Mr. Khān who had at that time no idea of the importance of the inscription had no information to give on this count. What I could gather from him was that for want of space, the slab (i.e. the pillar) unimportant as it was—so it was deemed—was kept there. My correspondence with the Museum authorities regrettably did not elicit any satisfactory response then.

Ultimately, when the present issue of this journal was under compilation, Mr. Khān showed his preference to publish this important record, but I felt that as I had already made a study of its text from various aspects, I could perhaps do better justice to it. I once again, after a lapse of seven years, wrote to Dr. S.C. Kālā, Director of the said Museum, since retired, inquiring about its place of find, as also for information as to whether it was published or noticed by anybody anywhere. Dr. Kālā was kind enough this time to furnish this brief information: 'I do not know if the inscription on the pillar under reference is published. You may just go through all the volumes of *Epigraphia Indica* published between 1935 and 1950. The pillar was brought from Vārāṇasi some time in the year 1932.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, it was not mentioned as a pillar by Mr. Khān then, nor was its *Nāgari* inscription noticed or copied by him.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1969-70, No. D, 201; *Indian Archaeology, 1969-70—A Review* (New Delhi, 1973), p. 54, pl. LVII c.

<sup>3</sup> Letter No. 307/12-M, dated 2-9-77, from Dr. S.C. Kālā, Director (since retired), Municipal Museum, Allāhābād.

In the meantime, Mr. Jalālu'd-Dīn of the office of the Regional Archivist, Government of Uttar Pradesh, Allāhābād, was kind enough to supply to me, on request, a detailed note on the pillar. I was particularly interested to know if there was any other inscription on the pillar and also to know more about the pillar itself. For, a glance at the rubbing seemed to give an impression that the pillar belonged to some building and might contain some non-Muslim record.

According to Mr. Khān, the inscribed pillar, when seen by him, was whole and in one piece, lying loose, but now it has been placed and mounted in the shed, adjacent to the Canteen, that has since been erected to house the sculptures, and is broken, perhaps in the process of mounting, into three pieces, one of which still lies about unmounted. The pillar as it stands today has been described by Mr. Jalālu'd-Dīn thus:

'It is an independent round pillar with a total length of 2·819 metres, diameter of 0·330 metres and girth of 1·143 metres, having a base, 609 by 0·355 metres, which is rectangular from one side and the back is round. In the rectangular side, is carved a niche which contains a Shiva Linga which is being worshipped by two ladies, (one) on either side.<sup>1</sup> The top of the pillar has a crevice for insertion.

The pillar is broken into three pieces. The base and middle portion stands on a platform amidst other sculptures while the third part is lying loose. The first break is from the top of the niche for Shiva Linga which perhaps had been separate previously and now it is properly restored with middle part.

The front side has got inscriptions in *Nāgarī* (not *Pālī*) running into sixteen lines almost upto the middle of the pillar, whereas the opposite side has got the Arabic inscriptions. It is almost a complete pillar without a capital.

Though (the writing in the ) *Nāgarī* script is dim yet it can be deciphered by the experts.<sup>2</sup> The beginning line of the Arabic inscription has been scrapped off due to much use of sharpening axes and other objects which has deepened the level also. (It might have been done by the gardener of the Museum since it was lying in the open.) The last line does not appear to be scrapped off as the level of the blank portion is as much raised as to that of inscription.

There is no definite information about the place from where it was brought. The Director says that perhaps it came from Benāras. I think it might be from the vicinity of Kaṛā which is a nearest place from Allāhābād. The *Nāgarī* record may perhaps throw some light on its origin.<sup>3</sup>

As a matter of fact, before I received the letters of Dr. Kālā and Mr. Jalālu'd-Dīn, I had also thought that the pillar might have come from Kaṛā. During my recent visit (April 1978) to Allāhābād undertaken with the specific purpose, apart from examining the pillar, of ascertaining its original place of find, I drew a blank, as the Director-in-Charge, Mr. R.D. Tripāthī, was out of station and his office could not give me any information in this regard.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The surface of the base below this panel (containing a *linga* worshipped by a lady on each side) seems to have contained some writing. This could not be ascertained during my recent visit (April 1978) as there was no kneeling space.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mr. P. R. Srinivāsan, Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, who examined the impressions sent by me, the inscription is 'much damaged. The language is Sanskrit and the characters are *Nāgarī* of about the 15th century. Only some words like Dillī (line 2), *asvapati* (line 3), *gajapati* and *narapati* (line 4) can be easily read. The portions dealing with date and purport have been erased'. (His D.O. No. 38/2(1)/78-775, dated 6-4-1978.)

<sup>3</sup> Letter dated 8-8-77 from Mr. Jalālu'd-Dīn, Allāhābād. This has now been confirmed during my visit to the Museum.

<sup>4</sup> I have since received this information from Mr. Tripāthī: We are unable to satisfy any of your queries in the absence of any record regarding the pillar. Even Dr. Kālā who joined this Museum in 1942 does not know anything about it because it was acquired long before he joined his service here. At that time, in the absence of any technical person, the objects were lying here and there unrecorded.

It is likely that definite information about the actual provenance of the pillar might have added to our knowledge of the history in the light of the evidence of the record, particularly as to the extent of the area which acknowledged his kingship. On the other hand, whether it came from Kaṛā or from Vārāṇasi, any definite information in this regard would not make any difference as to the seat of authority from where Ikrit Khān had proclaimed his independence, as the pillar could have been set up at a place other than his capital. However, it is quite likely, as will be discussed in the following lines, that Ikrit Khān held his *Iqtā'* at Kaṛā where he might have proclaimed his independence.

The huge pillar though broken is whole and I have satisfied myself that no part thereof, leave alone inscribed portion, is missing. But the text of the Arabic record as it is found today is incomplete, as will be seen later, the extant writing being in two lines. The part of the pillar that is now lying loose formed the upper part, and the Arabic text written lengthwise starts from there only and descends downwards. At present, the first line of the text seems to start from the end of this portion corresponding to about the middle portion of the second line, which is unusual; the starting words comprising the title (*‘ādil* meaning just) also indicates that some text preceded it. A close look at the pillar during my visit showed that there are traces of obliterated writing in the first line: in other words, the text was complete, but unfortunately, the writing here comprising its starting part is believed to have been obliterated when this portion was used for whetting knives or agricultural or horticultural implements like hoes, etc., as suggested by Mr. Jalālu'd-Dīn. Or it might have been deliberately rubbed out as will be mentioned later. In any case, it was probably this portion which contained a clue to the reason or purpose of setting up of the pillar.

Also, it would appear as if the Arabic text might have been superimposed above an older text, for there are a few letters which can still be seen (upside down) just above the top of the last two words in the first line. The Chief Epigraphist who was requested to examine and say if he could give an idea of the date has this to say: The inscription in three or four *Nāgarī* letters at the bottom of an Arabic inscription which you have sent is not clear; only the first letter 'pam' can be read.

Executed in bold *Naskh* which conforms to the style of writing of contemporary inscriptions, the epigraph is historically very important. It is a unique record in a way: it refers itself to the reign of 'Ādil (Just) A'zam (greatest) Falaku'l-Ma'ālī (Sphere of eminences), Sikandaru'th-Thānī (the Second Alexander) Ikrit Khān Sulṭānī, thus adding one more to the list of the disgruntled and ambitious members of the ruling family who proclaimed themselves king. The epigraph also refers to the tenure (*naubat* i.e. governorship) of Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Amīru'l-Umarā Qā'im Ikrit Khānī. The date is unfortunately missing in the extant text, thus depriving us of a very valuable piece of evidence on time factor. Likewise, the extant text does not contain any word denoting the reason or purpose of setting up the epigraph, nor does it give any indication which might have helped us to determine this.

Before, however, discussing these various aspects, we may first reproduce below its text which occupies a space of about 2·20 m. by 35 cm. on the pillar:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate I(b)

١ . . . . . عادل اعظم فلک المعالی سکندر الثانی<sup>١</sup> [ا] کرتخان سلطانے  
٢ وفي نوبة الملك (كذا) ملوک الشرق امیرا [لا] مرآه قایم اکرتخانی فی التنا . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Due to damage to the lettering, portion of the letter "alif" (الف) has not come out in the impression.

## TRANSLATION

(1) .....the just, the greatest, the Sphere of eminences, the Second Alexander (I)krit Khān Sultānī

(2) and in the time (i.e. governorship) of the Malik-i Mulūki'sh-Sharq (lit. the Prince among the Princes of the East) Amīru'l-Umarā Qā'im Khān Ikrit Khānī, on the.....

The inscription thus furnishes for the first time, as pointed out above, the information not recorded in historical works about a leading but not very wellknown member of the Khalji family proclaiming his kingship. In the light of available meagre details and hopelessly wrong spellings of proper names and places in printed editions as well as manuscripts of historical works, one may reasonably hesitate to connect Ikrit Khān of the record with the Khalji family, particularly as the record which we propose to assign to him does not contain the date. However, as stated above, the inscription can be safely assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the late 13th or early 14th century, and moreover, this aspirant to kingship can be easily identified with that scion of the ruling Khalji family, Akit Khān, mentioned under this and other variant name-forms in historical works, who made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of his uncle Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn soon after the latter ascended the throne after murdering his own uncle Jalālu'd-Dīn Firūz. None of the works which mention this event furnishes any information about Ikrit Khān particularly his antecedents; they mention him in connection with this rebellion only. They do not even spell his name which is evidently Turkish, uniformly or correctly. The contemporary Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī who has given more details of the episode than anybody else, followed by the early 15th century historian Bihāmad Khānī and early 17th century historians Firīshṭa and Hājji Dabir, spells the name as "اكت خان" which in the absence of any vowel marks can be read as Akit, Ikit, Akat, Ikat, Akut, Ikut, Ukat, Ukit, or Ukut Khān.<sup>1</sup> The near contemporary 'Iṣāmī spells the name as "اكد خان" which can be similarly read in different ways.<sup>2</sup> Among later historians, the mid-15th century Yahyā calls him "البحان" which is an obvious printer's or scribe's error for "اكتخان"<sup>3</sup> and Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad spells the name as "اكتخان".<sup>4</sup> The foremost modern authority on the history of the Khalji dynasty, Dr. K.S. Lāl, spells it Ikat,<sup>5</sup> Professors Ḥabīb and Nizāmī, Akat,<sup>6</sup> while the translator of the Ṭabaqāt, Mr. B. De, Ākat.<sup>7</sup> Sir E. Densin Ross, himself a scholar of Turkish, prefers Ikit (Yigit).<sup>8</sup> Major Fuller, translator of part of Baranī's history in English wrote Ukat which was changed to Ikit by its editor H. Blochmann who justified it with the remark that Ikit is Turkish and means Jawān, young,

<sup>1</sup> Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* (Calcutta, 1864), pp. 59-62; Bihāmad Khānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* (Rotograph of the British Museum Manuscript in the History Department of the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh), f. 384 b; Firīshṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firīshṭa* (Kānpur, 1884), pp. 106-07; Hājji Dabir, *Zafaru'l-Wāliḥ bi Muzaḥḥar wa Aliḥ* (London, 1928), vol. II, pp. 801-04.

<sup>2</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Madrās, 1948), pp. 259, 269, 279, 280. The Agra edition (1938) has "اكر" (pp. 259, 271) and "اكد" (pp. 269, 270) which are evidently scribe's or copyst's error for "اكد".

<sup>3</sup> Yahyā, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 71. Incidentally Yahyā, who calls him 'Alāu'd-Dīn's nephew, does not refer to the episode at all.

<sup>4</sup> Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. K. S. Lāl, *History of the Khaljis* (Allāhābād, 1950), pp. 40, 95, 104, 105, 106, 107, 114, 226, 306; *Khalji Vamsha-kā Itihās* (Āgrā, 1964), pp. 32, 85, 86, 87, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Muḥammad Ḥabīb and Khalīq Aḥmad Nizāmī, *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. V, The Delhi Sultanat A.D. 1206-1526 (New Delhi, 1970), pp. 343, 344.

<sup>7</sup> *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Eng. tr. B. De, vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 164-65. Dr. S. Roy who contributed the chapter on the Khalji Dynasty to R. C. Majumdar, ed. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1970), p. 21, also prefers Ākat.

<sup>8</sup> Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. LV.

and Ikit Khān would thus be the opposite of Ulugh Khān as Ulugh means Kalān, old, senior.....The usual scriptio plena also occurs, viz. “اكت” for “اكت خان”.<sup>1</sup> It does not require any great endeavour to come to the conclusion that the name as spelt in the historical works is “اكت خان” of which “اكد خان” is just a variant, the consonants ت and د being interchangeable.

From the above, it is clear beyond doubt that the person bearing the name اكرتخان in our inscription is none other than the one mentioned as “اكت خان” in historical works. In other words, he is identifiable with the said scion of the Khālji family.

This makes the importance of the record two-fold: it provides epigraphical evidence of the declaration of kingship by ‘Alāu’-d-Dīn Khālji’s nephew, who, in Baranī’s words, thought that just as ‘Alāu’-d-Dīn had obtained the throne by murdering his uncle, so could he also succeed in putting his uncle to death and occupy the throne. But after what appeared to be initially a success, he is reported to have failed to take advantage thereof, on account of his utter stupidity, foolishness and inexperience.<sup>2</sup>

That this Ikit Khān, that is to say Ikrit Khān of our record, did occupy the throne, though for a short while, and held the audience with usual protocol and formal ceremonies is thus described by the contemporary Baranī: Then he returned and hastened to Tilpat and entered ‘Alāu’-d-Dīn’s pavilion and seated himself on the royal throne of ‘Alāu’-d-Dīn. After entry, he made a proclamation that he had slain the Sultān. The people (believed him) thinking that were it not so, he would not have got access to the royal pavilion nor would he have ventured to occupy the royal throne, nor could he have given audience. There was great uproar and tumult in the camp and people started moving hither and thither. Caparisoned elephants were brought to the (royal) presence, the court attendants occupied their positions and everyone stood waiting at his post. The heralds made the usual proclamations, the Qur’ān-readers were busy with recitation, the minstrels started playing music, the high officials of the army congratulated him and swore formal allegiance by touching his hand and the Chamberlains continuously cried out Allāh.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, while Ikrit Khān’s having tried to murder his uncle and occupy the throne is already known from historical works, the fact that his kingship was not a few hour’s duration as is sought to be made out by the chroniclers is brought out by this record only. As such, again, the inscription raises a few intriguing but important and pertinent points. The fact that the epigraph was in all probability found at Vārāṇasi,<sup>4</sup> as stated by the Museum authorities, beyond Allāhābād, which is a great distance away from Tilpat, near Delhi, the site of the attempt on ‘Alāu’-d-Dīn’s life and Ikrit Khān’s few hours’ occupation of the throne, should indicate that his claim to kingship was not so short-lived as Baranī would have us believe, but had lasted for some time at least. It also provides, by implication, the evidence leading to the fact that Ikrit Khān’s claim to royalty was made quite some time before this particular event occurred in 1300, but by this time, he was probably reconciled at least outwardly to the king. Were it not so, his presence in his uncle’s army which had just come out of the capital on its march to Ranthambhor<sup>5</sup> cannot be satisfactorily explained. It may be remembered that Ikrit Khān was the *Wakil-i-Dar*, i.e. Royal Chamberlain. In the alternative, Ikrit Khān might have escaped after his unsuccessful bid for the throne and fled towards

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta*, vol. XXXVIII (1869), p. 211, f.n.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-76.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, we have an inscription of Quṭbu’-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khālji, dated A.H. 718 (1318-19 A.D.), at Vārāṇasi, for which see *ARIE*, 1971-72, No. D, 170.

<sup>5</sup> *Iṣāmī, op. cit.* (Madras), p. 279, *ibid.* (Āgrā), p. 269, puts this event at the time of ‘Alāu’-d-Dīn’s expedition against Chittor and not Ranthambhor.

the east and proclaimed himself king there. But the authorities agree in his having been meted out the penalty of death. In any case, it appears that somewhere in the eastern provinces of the Khalji empire, the banner of independence was raised by Ikrit Khān.

But when and where was this declaration made? Unfortunately, the chronicles do not say anything about Ikrit Khān's place of posting, which might have provided the answer or at least some cue.

It is not unlikely that Ikrit Khān was posted at Karā in Sirāthu Tahsil of Allāhābād district, a place known for its antiquity and historical association, where quite a few inscriptions<sup>1</sup> including what appears to be a fragmentary record of the Mamlūk sovereign Quṭbū'd-Dīn Aibak have been found.<sup>2</sup> Karā was at this period a place of strategic importance, where usually a strong governor, not infrequently a member of the ruling family, was stationed; 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji himself as prince was Karā's governor and it was here that he had his uncle, Jalālu'd-Dīn Khalji, put to death. It is therefore quite possible that by irony of fate, Ikrit Khān defied the sovereign authority of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji from Karā itself. This is no doubt just a conjecture, to substantiate which sufficient evidence has yet to be found.

As stated earlier, the pillar is whole, but the two-line text engraved thereon is not complete. A glance at the facsimile (pl. I b) reveals some intriguing features about the way the record is engraved: The two lines are strikingly of uneven length. The writing is missing, it will be observed, in the right half of the top line—of course this appears to have been obliterated through whetting and rubbing as stated above (p. 6, *supra*)—and the left quarter of the bottom line. On the other hand, the writing in the right half of the bottom line is in the initial and not in the finished stage of execution as the rest of the writing is; that is to say, the letters of the text are just drawn in outline, and the surface around them was yet to be scooped out to bring out the letters in relief. This would indicate that the work of execution of the epigraph was perhaps interrupted; if so, there must have been certain compelling factors. Could it have been because of the arrest and execution of Ikrit Khān and end of his short-lived kingship?

But in that case, the finish of the portion immediately thereafter (and preceding it too) cannot be satisfactorily explained. The text following it is left incomplete—at least it appears so on the stone. The last word in this portion, forming part of the date-indicating text, is also incomplete, which would corroborate the suspicion that the execution was interrupted. But then again, how to account for the finish of the execution? Again, the top right portion of the slab, which should have contained the beginning part of the text stating the object of construction and referring to the reign of the ruling chief, appears blank. This seems to have been deliberately obliterated or erased, though one is at a loss to understand why only this portion should have been so subjected unless the work of erasion was also interrupted. Or probably, after the execution of Ikrit Khān, the royal officials might have ordered scrapping up of the portion referring to his title of Sultān, etc. and the date; in that case too, how could the titles Falaku'l-Ma'ālī and Sikandaru'th-Thānī, particularly the latter, which was adopted by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khalji in his coins and inscriptions, be allowed to remain?

In short, we may have for the present a hypothesis that Ikrit Khān might have succeeded 'Alāu'd-Dīn in the governorship of Karā and after the latter's march towards Delhi, decided

<sup>1</sup> Karā has been visited at least twice and in all 27 inscriptions spotted and copied from there (*ARIE*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 286-96 and 1969-70, Nos. D, 209-24). These epigraphs include fragmentary ones also, but none of them has been so far found to match the one under study. However, epigraphical survey of Karā with its ruins spread far and wide cannot be said to have been complete.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1969-70, No. D, 214.

to be his own master,<sup>1</sup> during the interregnum of the three months between the murder of Jalālu'd-Dīn and 'Alāu'd-Dīn's accession. Also, Ikrit Khān might have been somehow won over by the new monarch.<sup>2</sup> That Ikrit Khān's inscription was set up only in the time of 'Alāu'd-Dīn and not before—say in Jalālu'd-Dīn Firūz's time or so is clear from the fact that the title Ikit Khān (i.e. Ikrit Khān) is stated to have been conferred on him by 'Alāu'd-Dīn on his accession only quite some time before the rebellion, perhaps on his accession.<sup>3</sup>

Another important contribution of the record perhaps is that it enables us to determine the correct spelling of the title Ikrit Khān which, as has been referred to above, has been bewilderingly spelt in earlier chronicles and more so by modern historians. The text has Ikrit in two places which there is no reason to reject. As seen above, Sir E. Denison Ross, a scholar of Turkish language, was inclined to take it to be originally 'Yigit' signifying in Turkish 'Young' and make it appear that Ikit of Baranī and others was a variant of Yigit.<sup>4</sup> I am not in a position to say at present if 'Ikrit' of the inscription which should normally be preferred to the reading Ikit of manuscripts and chronicles or the latter—Ikit—is the correct form, or whether the two are variants of each other.

A note here on the titles used for Ikrit Khān in the text may be in order. These include two highly significant ones, namely Falaku'l-Ma'ālī and Sikandaru'th-Thānī. The latter was, as is wellknown, adopted first by 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī among the Delhi Sultāns, but so far as it has been possible to ascertain, the former is not known to have been used by any of them or by any other Indian king. This title—Falaku'l-Ma'ālī—falls in the category of titles like Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī, Sharafu'l-Ma'ālī, 'Unsuru'l-Ma'ālī, etc., which were borne by the princes of Ṭabaristān, like Kaikā'ūs, the celebrated author of the Persian classic *Qābūs Nāma* and his ancestors.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say how this title came to be adopted by Ikrit Khān.

The inscription also makes an addition to the list of high placed noblemen or officials of the Khaljī period. The text refers to the governorship of Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Amīru'l-Umarā Qā'im who calls himself Ikrit Khānī. Nothing is known about him from historical works but his high titles would indicate him to have held the highest post of the erstwhile ruler's deputy or Prime Minister. Ikrit Khānī may also be taken to indicate that he might have been originally a purchased slave of Ikrit Khān or was his retainer from his early days.

Lastly, one or two more points may be mentioned in connection with Ikrit Khān and his action. Baranī's indictment of him as a foolish and inexperienced person seems to be rather sweeping if not outright incorrect. It is true that 'Iṣāmī too refers to his inexperience and lack of wisdom but that is in the context of his attempt on his uncle's life. Otherwise, from the account of his career given by 'Iṣāmī, meagre as it is, Ikrit Khān emerges as having held high position, by virtue of his merit. For example, 'Iṣāmī who incidentally is the only early author to give his name Sulaimān Shāh<sup>6</sup> and his father's name Muḥammad Shāh, furnishes the information that in the army led in person by 'Alāu'd-Dīn himself at Kilī against

<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out, as an analogy again, that 'Alāu'd-Dīn also had toyed with the idea of proclaiming his independence with Karā as his capital after his return from Deogir ('Iṣāmī, *op. cit.* (Madrās), pp. 238, 240-41).

<sup>2</sup> It may be remembered in this connection that Ikrit Khān seems to have enjoyed great affection of 'Alāu'd-Dīn as is clear from the regret and remorse he expressed when he was shown the former's severed head after his unsuccessful attempt (*ibid.*, p. 281).

<sup>3</sup> Bihāmad Khānī, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Hājji Dabir, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. LV. Also see Bābur, *Bābur Nāma*, Eng. tr. Annette Beveridge (London, 1922, Reprint, New Delhi, 1970), p. 16, f.n. 1, where its modern form is also quoted.

<sup>5</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1964), p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> Later writers Bihāmad Khānī, *op. cit.*, Yahyā, *op. cit.*, p. 71 and Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 106, also mention this name.



the Mongol Qutlugh Khwāja—where the battle positions were ordered by the Sultān himself, Ikrit Khān was made the Muqaddim—probably Muqaddimatu'l-Jaish or Advance Guard of the army. And again, it was he who was asked in the same battle, to take the place of Zafar Khān in the Right Wing of the Khalji army when the latter was killed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.* (Madrās), pp. 259-69. Incidentally, Dr. Lāl's description (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-59) of the battle array is full of misstatements and misrepresentation of what 'Iṣāmī says.

## THE JĀLOR IDGAH INSCRIPTION OF QUTBUD-DIN MUBARAK SHAH KHALJI

BY DR. Z.A. DESĀI

It is proposed to study afresh in the following lines an inscription from Jālor which was published in the 1935-36 issue of the series *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, by the late Dr. Ghulām Yazdāni, Director, Department of Archaeology in the erstwhile Niẓām's Dominions, Hyderābād, and the Editor of the said series in his capacity as Honorary Muslim Epigraphist to the Government of India, from an impression thereof received by him from 'Professor M.S. Commissariat of Bahāu'd-Dīn College, Junāgaḥ'.<sup>1</sup> The need to re-publish it was long overdue: the published version, apart from its errors in readings, is incomplete, representing only a part of the original record with the result that its full and correct contents did not come to the notice of scholars and historians. As the impression of the record was found 'not very satisfactory', only a few words of the text could be deciphered<sup>2</sup> and hence feeling the need of a better impression, Dr. Yazdāni sent his mechanic Ambā Dās Rāo to prepare another rubbing, but the latter failed to locate the record and Dr. Yazdāni had therefore to rely upon the said impression.<sup>3</sup>

The impression of this inscription, along with a few more, from Jālor,<sup>4</sup> was sent for decipherment by Professor M.S. Commissariat,<sup>5</sup> to the then Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who forwarded it to Dr. Yazdāni. The rubbing as it reached him consisted of two pieces, which, Dr. Yazdāni felt, apparently belonged to two different records, but the style of writing being identical, he also considered it not unlikely that the pieces might belong to the same inscription and the lack of connection between them might be due to some portions being missing.<sup>6</sup> The fact is that the pieces contain a running text, with nothing

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1935-36, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Jālor town, situated about 125 km. south of Jodhpur city, is the headquarters of one of the southern-most districts of Rājasthān bordering on Gujarāt. For the history and description of the town and its buildings, see *Progress Report of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year ending 31st March 1909, pp. 54-57; *Rājasthān District Gazetteers, Jālor* (Jaipur, 1973), pp. 306-09; E. D. Erskine, *Rājputānā Gazetteer*, vol. IIIA, *The Western Rajputana States Residency and the Bikaner Agency* (Allāhābād, 1909), pp. 189-90; Dr. Kailāsh Chand Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 185-91; etc. Dr. Jain's account of the history of the town is more detailed and comprehensive, but surprisingly, he does not mention the epigraph under study, though he lists *EIM* in his sources.

<sup>5</sup> The late Prof. M.S. Commissariat, M.A., I.E.S., retired as Emeritus Professor of History and Economics, Gujarāt College, Ahmadābād, and is author, among other works, of the *History of Gujarat* in three volumes, the third one being in press.

It is not known if this inscription was among those collected by Dr. M.A. Chaghtāi, then working at the Deccan College and Research Institute, Poona, from different places in the erstwhile Jodhpur State, including Jālor. His article on these inscriptions, sent for publication at about this time, was published in *EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 18-53 (the issue was originally scheduled as *EIM*, 1939-40, but its publication then in proof-stage was suspended due to World War II and when the series was resumed after War, it was numbered as the issue for 1949-50), but the present epigraph does not appear in Dr. Chaghtāi's article. Probably Dr. Chaghtāi was not aware of it or he too thought that it had disappeared.

<sup>6</sup> *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 49.

missing in between. What is missing of the text is the entire first line of the two-line epigraph; constituting its almost first half portion, this missing part of the text mentions the object of construction and refers to the reign of the Sultān with a full array of his high-sounding titles. The text as published by Dr. Yazdānī constituted only the second line of this two-line inscription.

Surprisingly, the inscription, in its entirety, still exists and was found *in situ* by me on the northern *mihrāb* of the 'Idgāh of the town in 1966<sup>1</sup> (and has been, I was told, ever there). Ambā Dās Rāo's failure to locate it probably stemmed from the fact that 'according to the report of Professor Commissariat, the tablet of the inscription is fixed on the wall of a mosque, near a temple at the Jālor Fort'.<sup>2</sup> This was evidently a case of mixing up of notes of provenances of the group of records referred to. In any case, Ambā Dās Rāo probably did not look beyond the given brief. In the course of my visit to Jālor, Ḥājī Imtiyāz 'Alī Ṣāhib, a leading merchant and foremost member of the Muslim community, spoke to me about there being an epigraph on the 'Idgāh which, on examination, was found to be not only the allegedly untraceable record but also in its entirety. Though it was nearing dusk, Maulavī 'Abdu'l-Qādir, the mechanic of our office, prepared excellent rubbings, on which this decipherment and study of the inscription are based.

While, as will be seen from the following study, the inscription is historically very important, the 'Idgāh itself should command one's admiration in its own right. Its antiquarian value apart—it is one of the very few surviving monumental remains of the Khaljī period, remarkable for its glorious achievements in the field of Indo-Islamic architecture—, architecturally it furnishes an important link in the development of the 'Idgāh-architecture.<sup>3</sup> Of particular interest is its tapering minār-buttress at the corner treated with angular and circular flutings, which represents the first surviving intermediate stage between the similarly fashioned Qutb-Minār and like features of tapering minarets flanking the entrance gates and back projections or occurring at the quoins of mosque-buildings of the late Tughluq period.<sup>4</sup>

As to the epigraph itself, its most striking feature is its extremely beautiful design. It consists of two lines of writing, the first one shorter than the second and symmetrically placed, and its *Naskh* calligraphy, with quite prominent cursive flourishes, is of a high order. The letters of the text are arranged in decorative *Tughrā* of quite an intricate but very pleasing type.<sup>5</sup> The body of the letters themselves occupies about quarter of the panel, about 17 cm. in height, making them look quite small, while their vertical strokes, stretched to the entire height of the panel, have been symmetrically placed at regular, alternately narrow and wide, intervals and joined at the top with slant strokes descending both ways, thus forming a series of wide and narrow conical arches. The entire range of these tall alternately narrow and wide arches produces a highly artistic effect, which is further accentuated by a series of flower-

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1966-67, No. D, 194.

<sup>2</sup> *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Being one-wall prayer-places, the 'Idgāhs of India are usually excluded from architectural studies. But their large number spread over length of space and time, in the country, remarkable for their variety, would make a delightful study. A Soviet scholar, Mr. B.D. Kochnev of the Institute of Archaeology, Samarqand, Uzbekistān S.S.R., had expressed his interest in the Namāzgāhs (as 'Idgāhs are generally called in Persian) in a conversation at the Institute on 20-1-1971. I do not know if he has made any progress in a systematic study of the Indian Namāzgāhs.

<sup>4</sup> For a brief description of the 'Idgāh, see Ziyāu'd-Dīn Desāi, *Indo-Islamic Architecture* (New Delhi, 1970), p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> This decorative calligraphical art which has been termed by Indian epigraphists as the Bow-and-Arrow variety of Bengāl was also practised in Western India—Gujarāt and some parts of Rājasthān—as has been shown by me elsewhere in the section 'Indian Epigraphy during the Muslim period with special stress in Art' contributed to the *Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. II, Rāmkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta (in press).

like knots formed at the middle of the parallel strokes in the central portion of the first line. This epigraph is dated A.H. 718 (1318 A.D.) and thus provides one of the earliest typical examples of decorative *Tughrā* in Western India. Fortunately, contrary to usual practice, the name of the calligrapher whose gifted skill produced this picturesque epigraph is also given.

It is this intricate though artistic style of writing in which letters are small and in addition written close to and overlapping each other, coupled with the slightly weather-worn condition of the letters carved in relief which has rendered the task of the decipherment of the text quite exacting and difficult. It is a matter of no mean satisfaction, therefore, that but for three four words in the second line, the entire epigraph has been satisfactorily deciphered, and as a result the full purport of the epigraph established.

According to my reading, the Namāzgāh (i.e. the 'Īdgāh) was constructed in the reign of the Sultān of the Sultāns, the Shadow of Allāh in the worlds, Second Alexander, the Dhū'l-Qarnain<sup>1</sup> of the Age, Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh, the coparcener (*Qasim*) of the Amīru'l-Mu'minīn (the Caliph), by Maliku'l-Umarā Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Hoṣhang son of Maḥmūd son of 'Umar Kābuli, popularly known as Gurg, on the 5th of Muḥarram 718 (9th March 1318). The epigraph also names the architect (*Mīmār*) and supervisor-in-charge (*Kārfarmān*) of the project—a piece of information not generally met with in the Indo-Muslim inscriptions—namely, Nuṣrat son of Rustam son of Maḥmūd al-Ghori (i.e. originally from Ghor).<sup>2</sup> The inscription—and this again is not a very common feature in Arabic and Persian inscriptions of India—is signed by the writer Muḥammad-i-Lāchīn al-Qaṣhmārī (or al-Qaṣhtamārī or al-Quṣhaimārī) a'sh-Shamsī.

The language of the record is Persian, and the tablet on which it is engraved in relief measures 2'10 m. by 48 cm. The text has been deciphered as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate II (b)

۱ بناء نمازگه متبرکه در عهد دولت و نوبت مملکت سلطان السلاطين فرمان رواى روى  
زين ظل الله فى العالمين سکندر الثانى ذو القرنين الزمان قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر مبارك شاه  
السلطان ابن السلطان قسيم امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى امره و شانه كى همواره  
در قواعد بادشاهى و انتظام امور شاهنشاهى سالها نامتناهى باد [و] اولياء دولت منصور  
۲ و اعداء حضرت مقهور بالنبي الامى وآله اجمعين الطاهرين باقى اين مقام متبرك ملك  
الامراء تاج الدولة والدين پهلوان صفدر گيهان هوشنگ محمود محمد عمر كابلے المعروف بالگرگ  
ادام الله تمكته در غزالے [كا] فران و نعمت سرمدى و ..... باقى و پايته داراد و  
معمار و كار فرماى اين مقام متبرك بنده کمتر نصرت رستم محمود الغورى و كاتبه محمد لاجين لقشمري؟  
الشمس الخامس من المحرم سنة ثمان عشر وسبعماية<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the connotation of this term, see f.n. 2 on p. 15 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Ghori is the name of a region in central Afghānistān.

<sup>3</sup> The syllable "ية" is written vertically to provide a vertical line to maintain symmetry of vertical strokes described above.

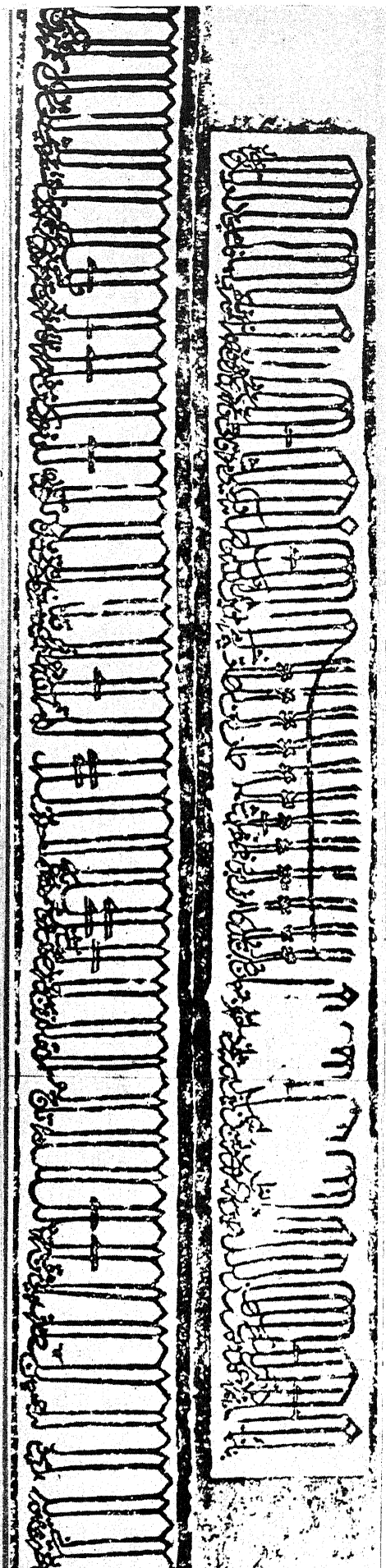
(a) Inscription of Qadr Khan, dated A.H. 818, from Chanderi (p. 48)



SCALE : .16

KHALJI INSCRIPTION FROM RAJASTHAN

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 718, from Jālor (p. 14)



SCALE : .13



## TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of the auspicious *Namāzgāh* (i.e. 'Idgāh)<sup>1</sup> (took place) in the time of the government of the kingdom and during the period of the sovereignty of the Sultān of the Sultāns, the ruler on the surface of the earth, Shadow of Allāh in the worlds, Second Alexander, the Dhū'l-Qarnain<sup>2</sup> of the Age, Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Pole-star of the State and the Faith) Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Mubārak Shāh the Sultān son of the Sultān, co-parcener (*Qasim*) of the Amīru'l-Mu'minin (lit. Commander of the Faithful, i.e. the Caliph), may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his affairs and dignity, may he always be firmly fixed for limitless span of time (lit. years) in the foundations of kingship and administration of the affairs of sovereignty, and may the Friends of the State<sup>3</sup> be victorious

(2) and the enemies of the court vanquished! through the blessings of the illiterate (*Ummī*)<sup>4</sup> Prophet (Muḥammad) and his holy descendants, all of them. The builder of this auspicious abode is Maliku'l-Umarā (lit. Prince among the nobles) Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn (lit. Crown of the State and the Faith), Champion of the time, Commander of the world, Hoṣhang (son of) Maḥmūd (son of) Muḥammad (son of) 'Umar Kābulī, popularly known as Gurg, may Allāh perpetuate his authority (and) may He keep him lasting and steadfast in the war against the infidels, eternal bounty and.....And the architect (*Mīmār*) and supervisor-in-charge (*Kārfarmān*) of this blessed edifice (is) the humble creature Nuṣrat (son of) Rustam (son of) Maḥmūd al-Gḥorī (lit. of Gḥor) and its writer (is) Muḥammad (son of)<sup>5</sup> Lāchīn al-Qaṣṣamārī(?)<sup>6</sup> a'sh-Shamsī. On the fifth of Muḥarram, year (A.H. eighteen and seven hundred (5 Muḥarram 718=9 March 1318).

The inscription is historically very important. It indicates the continuation of the Khaljī rule in this part of Rājasthān even after 'Alāu'd-Dīn's death. It renders the generally made and accepted statement that Jālor became independent immediately after its conquest by 'Alāu'd-Dīn in 1311 as totally incorrect and misleading.<sup>7</sup>

Attention may also be drawn to the array of titles used for the Sultān in the text. Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh is known from his coins and inscriptions for arrogating to himself the status of Khalifa of Allāh (i.e. Caliph) and so on. But this epigraph while beating all such records as far as titles are concerned does not call him a Khalifa but uses a new title for him, Qasimu Amīru'l-Muminin indicating allegiance to the Khalifa.<sup>8</sup> Incidentally, his allegiance to the Khalifa is acknowledged only in one type of his coins, where the legend has *Yamīn* (Right hand) of the Khalifa.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word *Namāzgāh* literally meaning 'a place for offering prayers' is generally used in Persian for a place for 'Id prayers.

<sup>2</sup> Literally meaning Bi-Cornous or Two-horned, he figures in the *Qur'ān* (Chapter XVIII, verse 83) and has been identified with Alexander the Great by some and with the Persian Achemanean emperor Darius I by others. For a detailed note on this, see Maulavī Muḥammad 'Alī, *The Holy Qur'ān* (Lahore, 1920), p. 603, note 1517.

<sup>3</sup> *Auliya-i-Daulat* means Fathers of the State i.e. Princes, ministers, officials, etc.

<sup>4</sup> This is how the term is popularly understood. For the significance of this term, see Muḥammad 'Alī, *op. cit.*, p. 361, note 950.

<sup>5</sup> I prefer to read here the *iqāfat-i-ibnī* indicating that Muḥammad was a son of Lāchīn.

<sup>6</sup> This can also be read as "القشمری" (al-Qaṣṣamārī) or "القشيمري" (al-Qushaimarī).

<sup>7</sup> Dr. K. S. Lāl, *Khaljī Vamsha-kā-Itihās* (Āgrā, 1964), p. 118; *District Gazetteer, Jālor, loc. cit.*, p. 307. It is surprising that Dr. K. C. Jain (*op. cit.*, p. 187) who has made an intensive study of the history of the towns and cities of Rājasthān should also accept this statement without examining all the available facts.

<sup>8</sup> In coins dated A.H. 717, he arrogates to himself the title Khalifa (H. N. Wright, *The Sultans of Delhi, Their Coinage and Metrology* (Delhi, 1936), Nos. 367A-70; 371 A-74A; 376-78; etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 371. It was minted in A.H. 716, the first year of his accession. His Khalifa legend coins were issued from A.H. 717 onwards.

Then, the wellknown popular epithet Gurg is inscribed on the stone in the Arabic style without the distinguishing stroke (*markaz*) of the letter *Gāf* and could be read variously as Kark or Gurg or the like as has been actually done by scholars. But as all the *Gāf*-letters are uniformly so written in the text, the word should be read as Gurg, which is familiar to the students of medieval Indian history as the popular epithet, meaning in Persian a wolf, of Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn Gurg, father of Malik Hoṣhang of the present inscription.<sup>1</sup> It may be recalled here that Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn was associated with the *Khaljī* conquest of Jālor and Siwānā,<sup>2</sup> but no specific mention is made of his receiving the *Iqtā'* of Jālor and Siwānā from the king, in available historical works.<sup>3</sup> However, the epigraph under notice would indicate that Jālor and Siwānā were received by him in fief. It is quite certain that the *Iqtā'* was held by him till he met his death at the hand of the Gujarāt rebels,<sup>4</sup> and after his death, passed on to his son Malik Hoṣhang. Historical works available in print do not furnish any further details about the father. The epigraph thus provides a valuable piece of indirect evidence for his having held the *Iqtā'* of Jālor and Siwānā. Far more important piece of information supplied by the epigraph is the full name and parentage as well as *nisba* of Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn, viz., Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad son of 'Umar al-Kābulī, which are not met with in historical works.

Whatever be the case, Malik Hoṣhang's association with Jālor is established beyond any doubt by this epigraph. It goes without saying that Jālor was included in his *Iqtā'* at the time of this record. How long did he hold this *Iqtā'* is not certain, but we know that at least by March 1334 (Rajab 734), 'the magnificent Malik' held Hānsī and Mas'ūdābād.<sup>5</sup> The *Iqtā'* was probably changed in the time of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh's successor Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Khusraw Shāh (1320) or Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-1325).

It is rather surprising that historical works do not furnish any detailed account of the career of both the father and the son who occupied such positions in the *Khaljī* court, playing prominent part in the affairs of the kingdom. 'Iṣāmī is the only Indian historian to give some more details of Malik Hoṣhang's later career. According to him, Malik Hoṣhang accompanied Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh in the Multān expedition to crush the rebellion of Kiṣhlū Khān and commanded the left wing of the army in the ensuing battle. This was in 1333 or so.<sup>6</sup> The only other mention of Malik Hoṣhang occurs in the account of his rebellion

<sup>1</sup> The epithet has been conclusively shown to be Gurg only on the contemporary evidence of Amir Khusraw and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa by Principal S.H. Hoḍiwālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939), p. 251, where the variants of this epithet used by other scholars are quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Amir Khusraw, *Khazā'inu'l-Futūḥ* (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 68-72.

<sup>3</sup> Dīyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 323, in his account of the appointments of the *Muqta's* and *Wālis* of the outlying regions, mentions the region of Jālor and Siwānā but does not name its *Muqta'* or *Wālī*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 369. He is stated to have been responsible, along with Malik Nā'ib, for the murder of Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī's brother-in-law (Yahyā, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 80). It was when he went to Gujarāt as governor to suppress the revolt of the partisans of Alp Khān that he got killed by the latter.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, Eng. tr. Dr. A. Maḥdī Ḥusain (Baroda, 1953), pp. 23-24; Hindi translation in S.A.A. Rizvī, *Khaljī-kālīn Bhārat* (Aligarh, 1955), p. 173. "شوشک" in the printed edition of Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-80, is a misprint for "هوشنگ".

<sup>6</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Madrās, 1948), pp. 435, 440; *ibid.* (Āgrā, 1938), pp. 420, 424. For details of the insurrection, see Dr. A. Maḥdī Ḥusain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 220. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who generally gives more information does not mention Malik Hoṣhang at all in his account of this event (*op. cit.*, pp. 96-97). However, 'Iṣāmī's account in a way corroborates Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's statement that Malik Hoṣhang had at about this time held the *Iqtā'* of the region around Hānsī.



or flight from Daulatābād<sup>1</sup> on his hearing of the rumoured death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and subsequent surrender through the intercession of Qutluḡ K̲h̲ān.<sup>2</sup> This is the last we hear of him in historical records—he marched with his property, family and attendants, and came to the Sulṭān who was pleased to see him and who conferred on him a robe of honour.<sup>3</sup> This event is believed to have taken place in A.H. 742 (1341-42 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> It is in all probability he who is meant when 'Iṣāmī mentions 'the lion of Jālor' being appointed *Sahmu'l-Ḥaṣham* (Pay-Master of the Army)<sup>5</sup> by the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty on his accession to the throne in A.H. 748 (1347 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> This would indicate that he had preferred to stay in Deccan and was a sympathiser if not an active partisan of the anti-Sulṭān factions there and was subsequently rewarded for his partisanship by the Bahmanī king.

I have failed to trace any other details about Malik Hoṣhang or his father. Our record, it will be seen, is perhaps the only document known so far to give the full name and titles of Malik Hoṣhang and the names of his father, grandfather and great grandfather. Then, for the first time we know from this epigraph that the name of his father Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn Gurg was Maḥmūd. Another original information supplied by the record is that Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn, about whose antecedents we are in the dark, or his ancestors, originally belonged to Kābul, as is indicated by the *nisba* al-Kābulī appended to his name in the text. As to the '*urf*' (*alias*) Gurg, it occurs, it will be noted, at the end of the entire pedigree and not immediately after the name of Malik Kamālu'd-Dīn which should have been the case if it were only meant for him; this might perhaps be taken to indicate that the epithet was more of a family name.

Of the other two persons mentioned in the text, namely the architect and the calligrapher, the former cannot be identified. But it may be of interest to note that the *nisba* al-Ḡhorī of Rustam son of Maḥmūd, the architect, also points to Afghānistān as his place of origin or at least to the stock of Ḡhorid Turks who had settled down in Ḡhor in central Afghānistān of the present maps and were instrumental in establishing permanent Muslim foothold in India under Muḥammad bin Sām.

The calligrapher Muḥammad-i-Lāḥīn, whom we propose to identify with some amount of certainty, deserves special mention for his superb calligraphical talent. This single specimen is enough to establish his place in the front rank of first-rate calligraphers. But it is not as easy to establish his identity. His full name given in the text is Muḥammad son of Lāḥīn followed by the *nisbas* al-Qaṣhmārī a'*sh*-Shamsī.

However, I venture to put forth the suggestion that the calligrapher of this beautiful epigraph is a brother of the famous poet Amīr K̲h̲usraw. The grounds that have led me to

<sup>1</sup> S.A.A. Rizvī, in his translation of extracts from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *Rehla* speaks of Malik Hoṣhang as governor of Daulatābād (*Tughluq-kālin Bhārat*, Part I, Aligarh, 1956, p. 220). But this does not seem to be correct, as K̲h̲ān-i-A'zam Qutluḡ K̲h̲ān is already spoken of as being there in the same passage. Dr. A. Mahdī Husain's translation of the passage that 'Malik Hoṣhang was at Daulatābād' (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 102) appears to be correct. He was evidently in attendance on the Sulṭān who was at Daulatābād at the time.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 102; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.* (Madrās), pp. 469-70; *ibid.* (Āgrā), pp. 450-51; Yahyā Sarhindī, *op. cit.*, p. 106. Muḥammad Bihāmad K̲h̲ānī, *Tārīkh-i-Bihāmad K̲h̲ānī*, Hindi translation, in Rizvī, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-02, furnishes a detailed and correct account of this episode.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Yahyā, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sahmu'l-Ḥaṣham* is, according to *Farhang-i-Anand Rāj*, vol. II (Lucknow, 1894), p. 484, *Ḡhiyāthu'l-Lughāt* (Lucknow, 1895), p. 237, etc., the designation of an office like Commander (*Sarlashkar*) and Pay-Master (*Bakhshī-i-Fauj*). It was not a title as such, as has been stated to be by the late-lamented Dr. Āghā Mahdī Husain (*Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn or Shāh Nāmāh-i-Hind of 'Iṣāmī*, London, 1977, p. 830). Professor A.S. Usha (*Yūsha*), however, in his edition of 'Iṣāmī's work (Madrās, 1948), correctly gives its meaning as *Bakhshī-i-Fauj*, i.e. Pay-Master of the Army (p. 557, f.n.).

<sup>6</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.* (Madrās), p. 557; *ibid.* (Āgrā), p. 451.

make this suggestion are, apart from the time-factor as also family association with the royal court, the name of Muḥammad's father Lāchīn and the *nisba* Shamsī which along with al-Qashmarī<sup>1</sup> is obviously intended for the latter. As we know, Amīr Khusrāw's father was a Khitā'i Turk named Lāchīn who had migrated to India from Balkh (in modern Afghānistān) and had received the title of Amīr Saifu'd-Dīn Shamsī from the Mamlūk Sulṭān Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish of Delhi (1210-1235). Thus Lāchīn al-Qashmarī a'sh-Shamsī, the father of Muḥammad, could be identical with Amīr Saifu'd-Dīn a'sh-Shamsī, the father of Amīr Khusrāw; this would make the calligrapher Muḥammad a brother of the famous poet.

It is true that Lāchīn is also the name of a Turk tribe and has been so taken, in the case of Khusrāw-i-Lāchīn, by some scholars including Maulānā 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Jāmī among the early writers and Maulānā Shibli and Doctor Wahīd Mīrzā among modern authors (blindly followed by most of the modern writers like Dr. S.A.H. 'Ābidī, Dr. Nūru'l-Ḥasan Anṣārī and all others who have written about Amīr Khusrāw on the occasion of his 700th Centenary celebrated in 1975),<sup>2</sup> to indicate his clan.

But this question has been thoroughly investigated and discussed threadbare in his extremely valuable work sponsored by the National Committee of Pākistān for the 700th anniversary of Amīr Khusrāw by a Pākistānī scholar, Professor Mumtāz Ḥusain,<sup>3</sup> who has, in my opinion, established on the basis of the writings of Amīr Khusrāw himself<sup>4</sup> and others that his father's name was Lāchīn, that the name Maḥmūd given for the first time to him by Daulat Shāh Samarqandī is wrong and that the overwhelming majority of Tadhkira-writers and other authors like Mīr Khurd, Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, Jamālī and Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, for example, call him Amīr Lāchīn or Amīr Saifu'd-Dīn Lāchīn.

Therefore, the phrase Muḥammad-i-Lāchīn in our record must be taken as Muḥammad son of Lāchīn. That this Lāchīn could be none else but Amīr Saifu'd-Dīn Lāchīn is clearly indicated by the *nisba* 'Shamsī' by which he was known after his enrolment in the service of Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish.<sup>5</sup> In no other way this *nisba* used with Lāchīn can be reasonably interpreted.

This would make Muḥammad a brother of Amīr Khusrāw. Since the latter had 'several brothers'<sup>6</sup> apart from the three—'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Alī Shāh, Tāju'd-Dīn Zāhid and Shihābu'd-Dīn—erroneously mentioned as the poet's brothers first by Jamālī, author of *Siyaru'l-'Arifīn* and subsequently repeated by all the writers, early or modern, on the subject<sup>7</sup>—only one of whom, Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Qutlugh is mentioned by name by the poet<sup>8</sup>—the poet's having a brother named Muḥammad would not mutilate against established facts. Of course, according to Mīr Khurd the author of *Siyaru'l-Auliya*, the poet had been given the name

<sup>1</sup> In *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 194, this was read as al-Muqtashar. It may also be read as al-Qashmarī or al-Qushaimarī, as stated above.

<sup>2</sup> *Amīr Khusrāw Memorial Volume*, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 1, 64, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Mumtāz Ḥusain, *Amīr Khusrāw—Hayāt aur Shā'iri* in Urdū (Karāchi, 1976), pp. 1-64 (containing its first chapter entitled 'Establishment of the name and origin of Amīr Khusrāw's father'). Professor Mumtāz Ḥusain's work in my opinion easily ranks as the best work on the life and works of the poet among the many publications that have come out in the sub-continent (and perhaps elsewhere) on this occasion.

<sup>4</sup> The extracts from Amīr Khusrāw's works in which he clearly states his father's name to be Lāchīn will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 4, 6, 16.

<sup>5</sup> The terms Mu'izzī, Quṭbī, Shamsī, Ghīyāthī and 'Alā'i are commonly found used for the grantees or noblemen who were either purchased slaves or were working under or attached to Sulṭāns Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, Quṭbu'd-Dīn, Shamsu'd-Dīn, Ghīyāthu'd-Dīn and 'Alāu'd-Dīn.

<sup>6</sup> Mumtāz Ḥusain, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 138.

<sup>7</sup> This is another myth according to Professor Mumtāz Ḥusain (*ibid.*, pp. 133-38).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 138.

Muḥammad-i-Kāsalis by Ḥaḍrat Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Auliya. But Professor Mumtāz Ḥusain considers this as a weak tradition. Even otherwise, there is a strong possibility of confusion of identity in that this brother might have been taken by his father to the saint who might have called him *Kāsalis*.

In my opinion, therefore, it is very likely that the scribe of our epigraph, Muḥammad son of Lāchīn al-Qaṣhmārī a'sh-Shamsī is a brother of Amīr Khusraw. This would make this extremely fine artistic specimen an extremely important historical document also.

This fact would again enable us to establish the exact place from where Amīr Khusraw's father migrated. The epigraph provides a very important pointer to this. Amīr Lāchīn is generally stated to have come from the vicinity of Balkh in modern Afghānistān. The *nisba* al-Qaṣhmārī following Muḥammad-i-Lāchīn's name, if read correctly, would mean that Amīr Lāchīn had come from Qaṣhmar, which appears to be an Arabicised form of Kaṣhmar or Kishmar ("کشمير"). Places bearing this name are found in the north-eastern Iranian province of Khurāsān, the U.S.S.R. region of Turkeṣtān, etc. which border on Afghānistān. For want of reference books at Nāgpur, like the geographical lexicon *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, or modern Directories or List of villages in Irān, Afghānistān, Turkemānistān, etc., it is not possible to identify this place for the present. Nevertheless, the clue thrown up by the epigraph is worth serious consideration and needs to be pursued further.

## A KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTION EACH FROM RAJASTHAN

BY DR. Z.A. DESĀI

Since the publication of my article on the inscriptions of the Khaljī and Tughluq Sultāns found in recent years in different parts of Rājasthān,<sup>1</sup> a few more records have recently come to light in the course of various tours undertaken by me as well as other members of my office. Mr. M.F. Khān, then Epigraphical Assistant and now Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, who was deputed for exploration work in the Nāgaur district of Rājasthān in 1970 or so, copied, apart from other interesting records, one new record each of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī (1316-1320) and Firūz Shāh Tughluq (1351-1388) at Barī Khāṭu and Lāḍnun respectively.<sup>2</sup> As these two records are of sufficient historical interest, their historical importance is sought to be highlighted in this article.

### I. INSCRIPTION OF QUṬBU'D-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH

This inscription was found on the mosque called Jāliyābās-kī-Masjid at Barī Khāṭu.<sup>3</sup> The mosque is so called after the locality Jāliyābās in the eastern side of the town in which it is situated. The mosque is of modest dimensions and a building of mean appearance.

Now reduced to a place of little importance in the Jāel Tahsil of the Nāgaur district, Barī Khāṭu was a town of considerable historical importance, as is indicated by a large number of Persian and Arabic inscriptions found there.<sup>4</sup> The town, which is still famous for the Tomb of Bābā Ishāq Maghribī, a celebrated fourteenth century saint, possesses quite a few monuments of antiquarian interest, the most outstanding, undoubtedly, of which, a mosque called Shāhī-Masjid, is contemporaneous with the Quwwatu'l-Islām mosque of Delhi and the Aḥḥāi-Dīn-kā-Jhonprā mosque of Ajmer and provides one of the few earliest extant specimens of Indo-Islamic mosque architecture. This mosque had until recently remained totally unknown to scholars and experts in the subject.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1967, pp. 1-24.

<sup>2</sup> One more record of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh was also found at Lāḍnun, but being fragmentary (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1969-70, Nos. D, 163-64), it is not included here.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. D, 157. Spelt as Khāṭū in Persian historical works and inscriptions and Khāṭu locally, the town is popularly called Barī Khāṭu to distinguish it from Chhoṭī Khāṭu, a few kilometres away.

<sup>4</sup> For these, see Ziyāu'd-Dīn A. Desāi, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan* (Jaipur, 1971), pp. 28-42. A few more records that have come to notice recently are listed in *ARIE*, 1975-76, Nos. D, 168-70.

For references to the account of the history and antiquarian remains and inscriptions of Khāṭu, see *EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 4, f.n. 3, 6-7, 13, 17; *ibid.*, 1967, pp. 4, 9, 12, 20; *ibid.*, 1969, p. 50; *ibid.*, 1970, p. 32 and f.n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> This exquisite mosque, one of the very few surviving earliest mosques of India, though partially fallen, is still quite an impressive monument. Its colonnade on the three sides has given in except the fine impressive double-storeyed entrance porch in the eastern side, approached by a flight of steps, the upper-storey comprising an ornate domed gallery. The impressive prayer-hall consists of seventy tall and slender pillars carved in the Hindu fashion, symmetrically arranged in five rows of fourteen each, from north to south and surmounted by three conical domes. Its solitary but ornate central prayer-niche of white marble is decorated with floral and calligraphical patterns of a fairly high order and has its arch of quintefoil outline. For details, see Ziyāu'd-Dīn Desāi, *Mosques of India* (New Delhi, 1971), p. 28.

The tablet bearing the epigraph under study measures 1.05 m. by 40 cm. and is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the Jāliyābās mosque. The text, running into three lines and a half of Persian prose, assigns the construction of the mosque to one Muẓaffar son of 'Umar, entitled Bahā and states that it was built on the first of Rabi' II 720 (11th May 1320) in the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh during the time of the governorship of Maliku'l-Mashhā'ikh wa'l-Umarā Malik Tāju'd-Dīn. In the text, the word Dāru'l-Khair follows the name of this high official without any term occurring in between specifying or elucidating the nature of his connexion or association with it; evidently some such term as *Muqta'* indicating the position of the Malik in respect of Dāru'l-Khair was inadvertently omitted by the scribe or the engraver. It will be noted that the composition of the text is also faulty; the verb is omitted from the one-clause text. The term Dāru'l-Khair, as is well known, is an honorific epithet associated with Ajmer.<sup>1</sup> On coins, it is not found till the late Mughal period, and the present record of the early fourteenth century thus provides the early use of the term.

Apart from furnishing one more record of this monarch—his sixth to be found in Rājasthān and second in Nāgaur district,<sup>2</sup> the inscription mentions a high official of the period, Maliku'l-Mashhā'ikh wa'l-Umarā Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn. It is difficult to identify, for want of sufficient literature in this regard, this grandee. For, there is a large number of nobles and officials who held the name or title Tāju'd-Dīn or Tāju'l-Mulk in respect of most of whom the dates and places of postings, and in the case of a few, the names proper (which would have helped determination of one's identity as distinct from another) are not known. For example, there were Malik Tāju'd-Dīn Kūlābī who worked under Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn (1295-1315), Malik Sayyid Tāju'd-Dīn Ja'far who flourished under both 'Alāu'd-Dīn and Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak, Malik Tāju'd-Dīn Aḥmad son of Talbagha who flourished under the latter and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-1325) and Malik Tāju'd-Dīn Turk who was governor of Gujarāt under both Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak and Tughluq Shāh. Apart from these, we come across in the list of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak's nobles one Malik Tāju'd-Dīn, Chamberlain of the Royal Palace. We are also told of the respectable and learned Qāḍī of Badāyūn under 'Alāu'd-Dīn, namely Sayyidu's-Sādāt Sayyid Tāju'd-Dīn son of Shaikhul-Islām Sayyid Quṭb.<sup>3</sup> It is not possible to identify any of these with the official of our record.

Some officials or grandees who bear this or similar nomenclature are met with in epigraphical records of this period. One Malik Tāju'd-Dīn is stated to have governed Meḍtā on behalf of 'Alāu'd-Dīn according to a Sanskrit record dated V.S. 1358 (1301 A.D.).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This epithet is found on the Mughal coins issued from the Ajmer mint from the time of Aurangzeb and generally till the end of the series (R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. II, Oxford, 1914, pp. 223-24, Nos. 1538-50).

<sup>2</sup> Of the other five records, three are from Bayānā (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1917-18, pp. 38, 39, 42), one from Jālor (*ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 49; *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 194; pp. 12-19, *supra*) and one from Nāgaur (*EIAPS*, 1967, p. 8).

<sup>3</sup> For these and other such nobles under 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq, see Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 24, 126, 174, 240, 329, 424. Also see in this regard, *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 3, 10. It may also be pointed out that not in every case the official continued to hold the same title throughout under one king or the same title, position or place in succeeding regimes. Again, there were a few learned men bearing this name or title who enjoyed fame and probably royal favour, at about this time (Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 108). Malik Tāju'd-Dīn Aḥmad son of Talbagha, who is stated to have hailed from or originally belonged to Nāgaur, also finds mention in a Tughluq record of A.H. 722 (1322 A.D.) from Mahobā in the Hamirpur district of Uttar Pradesh (*EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 25-26, where all available information about his career as gleaned from historical works is given). But it is doubtful if he has anything to do with our man.

<sup>4</sup> *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 61, No. 58.

Then an inscription of Qutbu'd-Dīn himself mentions Maliku'l-Umarā Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Hoṣhang son of Maḥmūd Kābulī with the sobriquet Gurg, who constructed an 'Idgāh at Jālor in A.H. 718 (1318 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Evidently they have nothing to do with the official of our record who, it may be noticed, is called Maliku'l-Maṣhā'ikh wa'l-Umarā (lit. Prince among the saints and the nobles) indicating that he actively belonged to some saintly family or order.

Another inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, from Koṭ in Fatehpur district of Uttar Pradesh, mentions a similar high official with this honorific titled name. Unfortunately, the writing being badly damaged, the legible name is Tāju'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn; its date portion is illegible, but the honorific title of the official (mentioned in the text as governor) which is quite clear in the inscription, is significant in that it is similar to those used for saintly persons—Tāju'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn.<sup>2</sup> This would provide a very strong possibility for this official's being identical with Maliku'l-Maṣhā'ikh wa'l-Umarā of the epigraph under study. The latter evidently had by now come to enjoy, if his title is any indication, greater status and authority, a result of natural process during which he must have progressed during the intervening years.

Whether Malik Tāju'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn of the Koṭ inscription and Maliku'l-Maṣhā'ikh wa'l-Umarā Tāju'd-Dīn of our inscription are identical or not, the fact remains that the record furnishes the name of an official who governed from Ajmer. It would also appear that the territory around Bari Khāṭu fell within the jurisdiction of the *Iqtā'* of Ajmer. As a matter of fact, this administrative division seems to have continued right down the centuries and it was specifically designated as such—*Sūba* of Ajmer in the Mughal period, if not earlier.<sup>3</sup> This *Iqtā'* at least during the Khalji and Tughluq periods, seems to have excluded the western and south-western part of the present Rājasthān, which, it is reasonable to infer from the available epigraphical evidence, seems to have formed a separate *Iqtā'* at least under the Sultāns of Gujarāt, with its headquarters at Jālor.<sup>4</sup>

The text of the epigraph under study is in Persian. The style of writing, *Naskh*, of the record, though in general conformity with that of the contemporary records, has nothing to commend about it. Moreover, the text has been inscribed unevenly in four lines: the fourth line has not only been inscribed in only half the usual length, but has also a couple of its last words out of alignment.

The text has been read as under:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate III (b)

١ بناء مسجد بعهد سلطنت قطب الدين ابوالمظفر مبارکشاه  
٢ سلطان بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه نوبت ملك  
٣ المشايخ و الامراء تاج الدولة والدين دار الخير بنده ضعيف مظفر عمر  
٤ الملقب بها بتاريخ الغرة من ربيع الآخر سنة عشرين وسبعماية

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 194. It was partly published and its findspot incorrectly given in *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 49, pl. XXXVI a. It is being re-edited in this issue (pp. 12-19, *supra*).

<sup>2</sup> *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 6, pl. II c.

<sup>3</sup> Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 505-12. An inscription of Jahāngir from Nāgaūr district mentions the *Sarkār* of Ajmer (*ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 334), while an epigraph of Shāh Jahān from Ajmer uses the designation *Sūba* (*EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p. 61, pl. XV a).

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1966-67, Nos. D, 186, 187, 191, 194, etc.

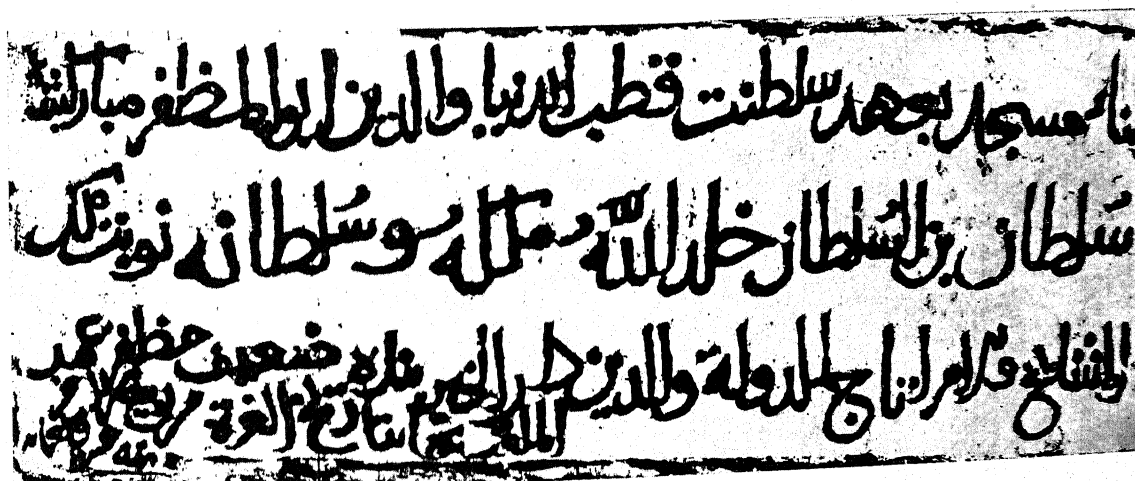
KHALJĪ AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM RĀJASTHĀN

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 780, from Lāḍnun (p. 27)



SCALE : .24

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 720, from Baḡi Khāṭu (p. 22)



SCALE : .16





## TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of the mosque (took place) in the period of the rule of Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Pole Star of the State and the Faith) Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Mubārak Shāh

(2) Sulṭān son of the Sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty (and) in the tenure (as governor) of Maliku'l-Mashā'ikh wa'l-Umarā (lit. Prince of saints and noblemen) Tāju'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn (lit. Crown of the State and the Faith) (Muqṭa'?) of Dāru'l-Khair (lit. Abode of Bounty i.e. Ajmer), by the weak creature Muẓaffar son of 'Umar,

(4) entitled Bahā, on the first day of the month of Rabī'u'l-Ākhar (of) the year (A.H.) twenty and seven hundred (1 Rabī' II 720=11 May 1320).

The builder Muẓaffar cannot be traced from available records, but the fact that he bore a title<sup>1</sup> points to his having occupied some position of authority: he was, very probably, a local official.

It will have been noted that the text omits any reference, overt or covert, to the title caliph adopted by Quṭbu'd-Dīn. Of his inscriptions of Rājasthān, the two from Bayānā dated A.H. 718 (1318 A.D.) and A.H. 720 (1320 A.D.) and one at Nāgaur dated A.H. 720 (1320 A.D.) designate him as caliph or his rule as caliphate, while the remaining three—the one dated A.H. 718 (1318 A.D.) from Jālor uses, as seen elsewhere (p. 14, *supra*), the vassal-title 'Co-parcener' (*Qasim*) of the caliph—like the one under study dated A.H. 720 (1320 A.D.) omit any such reference. This can only mean that there was no definite policy or formula laid down in the matter of designing the text which was left to the composer.

## II. INSCRIPTION OF FIRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUQ

The second inscription of this study is from Lāḍnun, a railway station on the Degānā-Ratangarh section of the Northern Railway. It was formerly the headquarters of the *Jāgir* of the same name under the erstwhile Jodhpur State and is now the chief town of the Tahsil.

Lāḍnun appears to have been a place of sufficient importance during Muslim rule, right from the early Sultanate period. About a dozen Arabic and Persian inscriptions found there include six thirteenth century epitaphs, three fourteenth century records of the Tughluqs and one fifteenth century record of a Khānzāda chief of Nāgaur.<sup>2</sup> Of the Tughluq records, one refers itself to the reign of Tughluq Shāh, the founder of the dynasty,<sup>3</sup> but it is unfortunately fragmentary and the remaining two are dated in the reign of Firūz Shāh: One of these, an important record mentioning three highranking officials was published earlier by Dr. M.A. Chaghtāi in a previous issue of this Series as stated above.<sup>4</sup> The second record of this monarch which is far more important seems to have escaped his notice, very probably because he could not make a complete survey of the epigraphical material obtaining at Lāḍnun. It forms the subject-matter of a detailed study in the following lines.

<sup>1</sup> For a similar usage in a Khalji record dated a decade earlier, from Bulandshahr in Uttar Pradesh, see *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ziyāu'd-Dīn Desāi, *op. cit.*, Nos. 310-320. Dr. M.A. Chaghtāi who was the first to bring to light Arabic and Persian inscriptions from the region published two from Lāḍnun (*EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 19, 21-22), one of which, the Khānzāda record mentioned above, is stated by him to be from Dīdwānā also in Nāgaur district (*ibid.*, pp. 21-22), but is actually from Lāḍnun. The rest were copied by the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nāgpur, in the course of official tours and have been listed, along with these two, in *ARIE*, 1968-69, Nos. D, 415-420 and 1969-70, Nos. D, 160-164.

<sup>3</sup> *ARIE*, 1969-70, Nos. D, 163-64.

<sup>4</sup> *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 19, pl. IX a; *ARIE*, 1968-69, No. D, 415.

This epigraph comes from a mosque which is locally called Hādirāwālī-Masjid<sup>1</sup> on account of its being attached to the Tomb designated by the local people as Hādirā (i.e. Hādirā or more correctly Ḥaḡīra).<sup>2</sup> About the antiquity, architectural features or history of the mosque, Mr. M.F. Khān had no information to give nor did he have anything to say about the nearby Hādirā which gave its name to the mosque or the person or persons buried therein.

This indirectly led to an avoidable slip at the time of listing this epigraph in the Annual Report. The calligraphy of the epigraph being quite intricate, the decipherment presented some difficulty, and while I was able to decipher it completely, there did occur a mistake, as it was found later and avoidable too, in the reading of the appellation (which later on proved to be the clan- or community-name) of the builder, which was deciphered as Mothal by me and the same went into our Annual Report mentioned above. As a result, while due note was taken of its being a new epigraph of Firūz Tughluq mentioning new officials,<sup>3</sup> a very significant fact emerging from the above community- or clan-name of the builder had it been read correctly, eluded me, though the name of the builder 'Alāu'd-Dīn Mubārak as given in the text was even then found intriguing : it had the *alias* Jaisingh son of Bhojā, evidently non-Muslim names. The surname too, then deciphered as Mothal, was quite unusual. It was therefore considered necessary to examine the record on the spot and try to find some solution to these intriguing problems. But due to preoccupations, I could not visit the place for quite some time. In any case, this epigraph was also on my list of proposed epigraphs to be edited and studied, but somehow or the other, it could not be taken up till now.

Then in 1976, while going through, in Calcutta, the manuscript of the *Malfūz* (Sayings)<sup>4</sup> of a contemporary saint who had passed his childhood and youth in Khāṭu and used to make a frequent visit to Lāḡnun, alone or in the company of his spiritual mentor Bābā Ishāq Maghribī mentioned above, I came across the mention of the head official of the town, a new convert to Islām, whose name along with that of his father (both in Hindū and Muslim fashion) except the clan-name, was mentioned. These, I immediately recalled, responded exactly to the name of this worthy mentioned in the inscription. I also found that the said book also contained some information about the governor of the place mentioned in the epigraph. This having roused my curiosity, on my return, I decided to take up the study of this epigraph and determine the correct spelling of the appellation or clan-name. I took the earliest opportunity to visit Lāḡnun and examine the record on stone and collect local tradition about the persons concerned in the light of new information the said *Malfūz* contained. This materialised in June 1977. While examining the inscribed tablet to ascertain the correct reading of the clan-name, I just happened to converse with the gentleman residing on the premises about the local history of the monument and the town. While he narrated the popular account of Rāo Jai Singh the chief of Lāḡnun, his confrontation with the Delhi Sultān and ultimate conversion to Islām, I asked him (without mentioning the word for the clan-name I was examining, and

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1969-70, No. D, 161.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥaḡīra literally meaning 'enclosure' is also used, at least in some parts of India (like Gujarāt—where in Ahmadābād, there are the famous Rānī-kā-Ḥaḡīra and Bādshāh-kā-Ḥaḡīra for Kings' and Queens' Tombs), for a mausoleum or tomb. For the use of the term in this sense in an epigraph from Pānīpat in Karnāl district of Haryānā, see *ARIE*, 1971-72, No. D, 32.

This Ḥaḡīra at Lāḡnun must have been originally designated as Ḥaḡīra of so-and-so, but later on the name of its occupant came to be dropped, leaving only the name Ḥaḡīra of the building which became Hādirā in local pronunciation.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19. Also *Indian Archaeology, 1969-70—A Review* (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 52-53.

<sup>4</sup> For details, see p. 28, *infra*.

he was, even otherwise, an uneducated and very probably illiterate person), if there was any name or surname like Mothal. To this he immediately responded saying that Rāja Jai Singh was a Moel (local pronunciation for Mohel or Mohil). Once this was known, the correct pronunciation of the sobriquet earlier read as Mothal could be determined as Mohil and confirmed on the spot, when it was found that the letter “ ه ” (*hā*) in “ موهل ” was taken by me to be undotted ت (tha), thereby reading the word as “ موتهل ” or Mothal. In short, there is no doubt that the word denoting the clan-name is Mohil and not Mothal as deciphered earlier.

The correct reading of this word has thrown much new light on an important aspect of the social history of some parts—western India at least—of the country during the late 14th century under Firūz Shāh Tughluq. The Mohils, like the Qā'im Khānīs<sup>1</sup> of Rājasthān are universally believed to have been a clan of Chauhān Rājputs<sup>2</sup> and find frequent mention in inscriptions and Rājasthānī *Khyāt* literature. The Mohils were so called to distinguish them from others, after the name of their ancestor Mohil,<sup>3</sup> who finds mention in an inscription of his son Haṭhaḍ or Hardatta, believed to be dated Vikrama Samvat 1162. These Mohil Chauhāns ruled over the Chhāpar-Dronapur (modern Gopālpur)-Lāḍnun parganas now included in the Churu district of Rājasthān, north of Lāḍnun—popularly known to medieval bards and *Khyāt*kārs as Mohilwāṭī,<sup>4</sup> of which Lāḍnun town and *pargana* were part.

But there is no clear mention in available literature, epigraphical or *Khyāt*, as to exactly when a section of the Mohils embraced Islām. One of the Mohil chiefs of Lāḍnun is stated to be Rāo Jai Singh,<sup>5</sup> who is stated to have granted some land to Jasudān, a Bard, according to a copper-plate grant of Vikrama Samvat 1544 Vaiśākha Su. 11 (3rd May 1487).<sup>6</sup> It is this Rāo Jai Singh who finds mention in our inscription as the builder of the mosque and whom the saint's *Malfūz* terms a New Muslim.

About this Rāo Jai Singh not much is known. According to the unpublished *Mohilon-ki-Khyāt* by the late Maulā Bakhsḥ, himself a Mohil Muslim of Lāḍnun who died a few years ago, Lāḍnun was occupied by the Gardizī Muslims. The Chauhān Mohil of Dronapur, Araḍak Mal, attacked and defeated them and established his rule at Lāḍnun on Asoj Su. 10, V.S. 1489 (5 October 1432). This Araḍak Mal was succeeded by his son Bhoj Rāj and the latter by Rāo Jai Singh.<sup>7</sup>

But Mr. Govind Agarwāl who is the first to give a somewhat coherent account of the Mohil Muslims and who had consulted the *Mohilon-ki-Khyāt* does not give any definite information about the actual time of the Mohil conversion. He simply says on the basis of the said *Khyāt*

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, the Mughal historians spell this name as Qiyām Khānī and not Qā'im Khānī as is being done by all Rājasthān historians.

<sup>2</sup> Dasharatha Sharmā, *Early Chauhan Dynasties* (Delhi, 1959), p. 77. In H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces*, vol. III (Lahore, 1914, Reprint Patialā, 1970), p. 124, 'Mohal' is stated to be a Jāt clan (agricultural) found in Multān and Montgomery (now in Pākistān).

<sup>3</sup> Mohil was fifth in the line of the ruling family of Ganga or Dhanḍha through the latter's son Inda or Indra, according to the *Khyāt* of Muhnot Nainsī and others (Govind Agarwāl, *Churū-Manḍal-kā-Shodhpurnā Itihās*, Churu, 1974, p. 94). But according to another bardic account (*ibid.*, p. 52 and f.n. 6), Mohils were the descendants of Vachhrā son of Ganga or Dhanḍha's another son Kānh.

<sup>4</sup> The only detailed though somewhat rambling but fairly authentic account of the Mohil Rānās pieced together from epigraphical and *Khyāt* accounts is to be found in Agarwāl, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-96. According to Agarwāl (*ibid.*, pp. 81-82, 92), Chhāpar-Dronpur was conquered by the Rāthods of Jodhpur in Vikrama Samvat 1531 (1474 A.D.), but the Lāḍnun *pargana* continued to be held by the Mohils.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 97.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92 and f.n. 4, 93 (illustration).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

that Rāo Jai Singh had 12 Hindu wives and one Johiyānī (Muslim)<sup>1</sup> wife and the off-spring of the latter came to be known as Muslim Mohils who are to be found in Lāḍnun in large numbers.<sup>2</sup>

It is in this regard that the inscription under study, despite its lack of details—a common feature of Perso-Arabic epigraphical material of India—provides extremely valuable information. It validates Maulā Bakhsh's *Khyāt* at least to some extent, as it confirms his statement of Jai Singh's parentage, correcting at the same time the chronology given in the copper-plate just mentioned or in the *Khyāt* under reference. Our epigraph also provides the definite information that Rāo Jai Singh was not only himself a Muslim, but was the first in his line to get converted to Islām thereby determining the period of Rāo Jai Singh himself as well as his conversion to Islām. That this conversion had taken place sometime in or before 1378, the date of the inscription under study is obvious. Rāo Jai Singh thus flourished more than three quarters of a century earlier than the period assigned to him in the above-mentioned copper-plate and the *Mohilon-ki-Khyāt*.

However, there is no authentic or detailed information available as to when the Mohils came to establish their independent authority over Lāḍnun territory. According to Maulā Bakhsh, after Gardīzi Muslims had established their rule over Lāḍnun, Araḍak Mal, the Mohil Chauhān of Droṇapur, led an expedition to Lāḍnun, defeated them and started his rule there on 10th Asoj V.S. 1489 (5th October 1432). Araḍak Mal was followed by his son Bhoj Rāj who was succeeded by his son Jai Singh who built the Tank called Rāo Tālāb, Gate called Rāo-Darwāza, Well called Rāo-Kunvā and the Śiva and the Hanumān Temples of Lāḍnun.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear from Mr. Agarwāl's account based on Maulā Bakhsh's *Khyāt* if the latter quotes any authority for his narrative other than oral tradition or bardic account, but there appears to be sufficient truth in this account, particularly, as stated earlier, in regard to the father's name of Rāo Jai Singh. Maulā Bakhsh's chronology according to which Lāḍnun was wrested from the Gardīzis by Mohil Araḍak Mal in 1432 has been so far accepted for want of any other reliable source-material. This would place the time of Jai Singh's chiefship around the middle of the 15th century if not still later. But thanks to the discovery of the record under study, we are now in a position to say that this is too late a date, at least by three quarters of a century. That Jai Singh flourished towards the close of the middle of the 14th century and was alive at least until 1378, is established both on contemporary, recorded as well as epigraphical, evidence as will be shown presently.<sup>4</sup>

The Hādirāwālī-Masjid, above the central *mihrāb* of which the tablet bearing the record under study is fixed, is a new two-storeyed structure, having been reconstructed on the site of the old 'Sultānī-Masjid' (Royal mosque) forty-five years ago.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, its original

<sup>1</sup> Johiyās, like Mohils, were also Rājput converts to Islām.

<sup>2</sup> Agarwāl, op.cit. p. 92. It could not be ascertained if Maulā Bakhsh, himself a Mohil, gives details of Jai Singh's conversion to Islām. The story of his having become a Muslim—and this is correct as will be shown later—is current among the local Muslims, as I learnt from various persons whom I met separately in the course of my visit to Lāḍnun in June 1977. To ascertain this point, I contacted Maulā Bakhsh's sons at Lāḍnun for this *Khyāt*, but the manuscript, I was told, was with Shri Māldevji Bothrā, a leading social and Sarvodaya worker of the district and knowledgeable person of Lāḍnun. Unfortunately, he was out when I called on him accompanied by one of Maulā Bakhsh's sons, and later in the evening when he could be contacted, he said that he would have to trace it from his books and promised to write to me later. However, this seems to have escaped his notice due perhaps to his multifarious social obligations.

<sup>3</sup> Agarwāl, op. cit., p. 91, f.n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> As stated above, I have not been able to consult the *Mohilon-ki-Khyāt* of Maulā Bakhsh and hence, it is not possible for me to say if he was aware of the contents of the epigraph. Very probably he was not.

<sup>5</sup> According to the inscription on this new structure, fixed into the facade, to the left of the main entrance, 'the Royal mosque, having become dilapidated, was reconstructed in A.H. 1353 (1934-35 A.D.) by Ḥusain Bakhsh (and) Khudā Bakhsh son(s) of Qādir Bakhsh *Silāwaj* (Stone-cutter)'.

architectural character cannot be now determined, though the original walls which are only what remains in tact of the old one-storeyed mosque, with their running string-course of carved wheel-and-cross motif, so commonly found in the 14th century Muslim buildings in Gujarāt and Rājasthān, do give some idea thereof. But quite close to the mosque, on the south south-east, across what is now a small passage, is the small domed stone building, the above-mentioned Hādirā (i.e. Ḥaḡīra), which is more or less intact: This building, raised on twelve pillars in the typical trabeate style of tomb-construction prevalent in Gujarāt at this period, with its corbelled dome (whose two carved concentric rings placed on tiers of diagonal slabs over the beam-lintels converting the square into an octagon end at top in circular boss-pendant), its short thick pillars with square bases, octagonal shafts and four-sided capitals and its beam-lintels carved with creeper and geometrical designs, can be safely taken to indicate the original architectural character of the mosque in question, of which, as the repository of the remains of the builder, it must have formed the adjunct. Local tradition also ascribes the central of its three graves to Rāo Jai Singh who had embraced Islām, that on the east to his wife, the princess of Delhi, and that on the west—a small one—to his sister's son. The central grave is inscribed at the bottom of the foot-side, but the writing is quite a good deal obliterated and moreover, lack of sufficient light and more than that, lack of space to kneel down and examine the writing, prevented any sustained effort at decipherment.<sup>1</sup> On the northern side, there is an extension with engrailed arched openings which seems to have been added sometime during the last century or so.

The text of the record under study consists of four lines of writing in Persian. Starting with the *Basmala* followed by the usual Quranic verse occurring in mosque-inscriptions, it refers itself to the reign of Abū'l-Muḡaffar Firūz Shāh and governorship (*iyālat*) of Malik-u'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Chūpān son of 'Uṭmān and assigns the construction of the mosque to 'Alāu'd-Dīn Mubārak *alias* Jai Singh son of Bhojā Mohil. The date of construction is given in the text as 10th Shā'bān 780 (2nd December 1378).

The style of writing is *Naskh* in a practiced hand, not different from the calligraphy of the epigraphs of the period. It betrays, as for example, in the first line, faint and not very easily distinguishable flourishes of *Bihār* script, but this perhaps may not be intentional on the part of the calligrapher.

The epigraphical tablet measures 68 cm. by 35 cm. and the text reads as under:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate III (a)

۱ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و آن المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا  
۲ بناء این مسجد در عهد همایون سلطان سلاطین الزمان الوائق بتائید الرحمن ابوالمظفر  
فیروز شاه السلطان  
۳ خلد الله ملکه نوبت ایالت ملک الشرق اختیار الدولت والدین چوپان عثمان دام  
تمکنته بنده علاء الدین  
۴ مبارک عرف جیه [سن]ک بن بهوجا موهل فی العاشر من شهر النبی شعبان عمت میامنہ  
سنه ثمانین و سبعیہ

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1969-70, No. D, 162.

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.'

(2) The construction of this mosque (took place) in the auspicious reign of the Sultān of the Sultāns of the Time, reliant on the support of the Beneficent (Lord), Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Firūz Shāh the Sultān,

(3) may his kingdom be perpetuated (and) during the time of the governorship of Maliku'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn (lit. Selected one of the State and the Faith) Chūpān (son of) 'Uṭhmān, may his authority last for ever, (by) the (humble) creature 'Alāu'd-Dīn (son of) Mubārak *alias* Jai Singh son of Bhojā Mohil, on the tenth of the month of the Prophet (namely) Sha'bān, may its blessings be universal, of the year (A.H.) eighty and seven hundred (10 Sha'bān 780=2 December 1378).

This inscription, as stated above, provides one more link in the chain of regional administrative machinery. It introduces in a sense for the first time, two highly placed officials of the Tughluq period, who are ignored by the contemporary or later state chroniclers. As it is, contemporary or later historical works are almost totally silent particularly as far as the historical happenings of this part of Rājasthān is concerned. For example, none of the prominent historical annals of Firūz Tughluq's reign even mentions the name of Lādnun,<sup>2</sup> leave alone its officials, local or higher. No wonder therefore that Maliku'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Chūpān whose tenure of administration (that is, broadly speaking, governorship) finds mention in the epigraph must rank with leading nobles enjoying this status in Firūz's reign but his name is absent in the list of these personalities in the *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi* of either Baranī or Shams-i-Sirāj-i-'Afīf, nor does it occur in other historical works. Likewise, the builder 'Alāu'd-Dīn Mubārak, as could only be expected, is a totally unknown figure in the historical works of the period, though he formed part of the administrative machinery of the state.

Fortunately, both the Firūzian noble of governor's rank and the local chief 'Alāu'd-Dīn Mubārak are known from an unexpected contemporary source, namely a work comprising the self-narrated memoirs of the great saint of the Maghribī order, Shaikh Ahmad Khaṭṭū of Sarkhej in Gujarāt, which were compiled in A.H. 861 (1456-57 A.D.) or twelve years after the death of the saint in A.H. 849 (1446 A.D.),<sup>3</sup> under the title *Mirqātu'l-Wuṣūl ila'llāhi wa'r-Rasūl*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter LXXII, verse 18.

<sup>2</sup> There is no clear picture available from the available historical works even now, of the administrative divisions, particularly of areas comprising Rājasthān under the period under review or for that matter under the Mughal period. It is surprising that even the list of provinces of Firūzian empire given in the latest research thesis on the subject (Dr. Jamini Mohan Banerjee, *History of Firūz Shāh Tughluq*, Delhi, 1967) altogether omits Rājasthān (*ibid.*, pp. 102-103). The epigraphical material is quite helpful in this regard too, but as has been pointed out in the previous issues of this series from time to time, our research scholars and historians have always overlooked it.

<sup>3</sup> It is a pity that despite occasional pleas, the vast *Malfūz*-literature of Indian saints, which is almost exclusively in Persian, continues to remain, even to date, untapped by scholars and researchers in medieval Indian history, except the pioneering efforts of Professor S.H. 'Askarī of Patnā, who has brought to light quite a good deal of new historical material from these works, of course relating to Bihār and Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmī of Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, who is reputed to possess a fairly good collection of such works. It is all the more regrettable, since these works and not the chronicles provide rich material for the cultural and social history of the period which is usually neglected by our medieval historians. Even for political history, more particularly the regional one, these works furnish valuable and at times new material. The *Mirqātu'l-Wuṣūl* also contains a mine of information on political, social and cultural aspects of the history of Rājasthān and Gujarāt and it is proposed to make it available to the scholarly world in a separate article.

<sup>4</sup> This book is originally in Persian and has remained so far unpublished. Only one manuscript thereof is

Shaikh Ahmad was born in Delhi in 1337-38 but brought up since his very childhood at Khattu under the solicitous care of Bābā Ishāq Maghribī. He passed the best part of his life there, having remained there till about A.H. 791 (1388-89 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Ahmad was a frequent visitor to Nāgaur, Diḍwānā and Lādnun, right from his early days, either in the company of his master or alone, and his recollections of these visits touching various aspects of his life are contained in the said memoirs compiled by his disciple and attendant Maulānā Muḥammad son of Qāsim. The *Mirqāt*, comprising these memoirs, contains, *inter alia*, valuable and interesting information of sorts.

It was in the course of one such visit that Shaikh Ahmad had met Malik Chūpān at Nāgaur, when he had gone there for some work during the life-time of his spiritual preceptor Bābā Ishāq (died A.H. 776/1374 A.D.). While speaking of this visit, the saint says that the Malik had in those days obtained considerable booty in some battle:<sup>2</sup> it was from this booty that the Malik gave a share comprising four choice cows<sup>3</sup> to the Shaikh who sold them to Malik Gūnān (or Kūnān).<sup>4</sup>

While the Memoirs of the saint does not contain any information other than this about him, it is clear from the above that Malik Chūpān was already at Nāgaur some time before 1374, the date of the death of Bābā Ishāq, which took place three-four years before the date of our record. From the context, it would appear that the meeting had taken place much earlier. It also appears from the narrative that Nāgaur was the headquarters of an *Iqtā'* held by Malik Chūpān, independent of that of Ajmer, of which Nāgaur formed part at some time. It will be recalled that an earlier inscription from Baṛi Khātu dated A.H. 733 (1333 A.D.) in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh indicates that Khātu was then part of the *Iqtā'* of Ajmer.<sup>5</sup> But from the *Mirqāt*, it is clear that Nāgaur formed a separate *Iqtā'*. When this change took place it is difficult to say.<sup>6</sup> The saint's Memoirs clearly refers to the *Iqtā'* of Nāgaur while referring to an event of about A.H. 791 (1388-89 A.D.).<sup>7</sup>

Malik Chūpān seems to have died or at least his association with Nāgaur ended some time before A.H. 791 (1388-89 A.D.), for when Shaikh Ahmad started from Khātu and reached Nāgaur in about that year on his way to the visit of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm was the *Muqṭa'* of Nāgaur. Incidentally, the information gleaned from the saint's Memoirs provides another piece of information regarding him. It refers to a caravansarai at Nāgaur called Sarā-i-Malik Chūpān which was evidently constructed

(foot-note contd. from p. 28)

so far recorded under the title *Malfūzāt-i-Shaikh Ahmad-i-Maghribī* (C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. I, part 2, p. 953); it is in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (Wladimir Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 91, No. 247).

However, there does appear to have existed more copies of this work, as is clear from its Urdū translation made by the late Maulānā Sayyid Abū Zafar Nadvī under the title *Sirat-i-Ahmadiya* (*Sirat*), which was published some time in the early fifties by Hājī Badru'd-Dīn Ḥusainu'd-Dīn Niẓāmī and Sons, Booksellers, Ahmadābād. Maulānā Abū Zafar mentions the late Sayyid Manẓūr Ḥusain 'Alavī *alias* Ḥusainī Pir, as having possessed a manuscript, but my efforts to trace it have failed.

Another disciple of the saint, Shaikh Mahmūd Irāji too compiled his sayings under the title *Tuḥfatul-Majālis*, the Urdū translation of which, also made by Maulānā Sayyid Abū Zafar Nadvī, was published under the same name by the Dāru'l-Muḥannifin, Azamgarh, Uttar Pradesh, in 1939.

<sup>1</sup> For a life-sketch of the saint, see *Sirat*, Introduction, pp. 15-44.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the name of the battle is not mentioned nor are any details given.

<sup>3</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 16 b. *Sirat*, p. 63, has 'some choice cows'.

<sup>4</sup> The name of this Malik is so spelt in *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *EIAPS*, 1967, p. 12, pl. III b.

<sup>6</sup> It may also be noted that under the Nāgaur *Khānzādas*, Khātu itself was the headquarters of an *Iqtā'* (*ibid.*, 1971, pp. 33, 35, pl. V b).

<sup>7</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 134 a; *Sirat*, p. 209.

by and named after Malik Chūpān; the saint had stayed there in about A.H. 791 (1388-89 A.D.), when he passed through Nāgaur in the course of his pilgrimage or travel for *Hajj*.<sup>1</sup>

It may be noted that it is only our inscription that furnishes the full titles of Malik Chūpān as well as the name of his father, namely 'Uṭhmān.

As a rare coincidence, the saint's Memoirs also identifies the other official mentioned in the record—the builder of the mosque in question and clears up once for all the somewhat enigmatic mention of his name 'Alāu'd-Dīn Mubārak *alias* Jai Singh son of Bhojā Mohil and the mist that has surrounded his times all these years. When this inscription was first listed in the Annual Report, attention was drawn to this interesting though intriguing usage, and it was suggested that this could perhaps be taken to indicate his recent or not very distant conversion to Islām.<sup>2</sup> That it was actually so is now established beyond doubt from the saint's Memoirs. The saint relates that when he once accompanied Bābā Ishāq to Lāḍnun, the Bābā was entertained by 'Malik 'Alāu'd-Dīn the new Muslim (*Naw-Musalmān*) whose previous name was Jai Singh and who was the chief (*Muqaddim*) of the said town (*Qagba*).<sup>3</sup> The Bābā got prepared out of his offerings, a dish called *Māṭida*,<sup>4</sup> and invited the entire Muslim population of the town'.<sup>5</sup> This statement helps to clear the ambiguity in regard to the double name.

While the inscription under notice and the Memoirs of the saint thus corroborate and supplement each other, our inscription again, as in the case of Malik Chūpān, furnishes his full names—both those which he bore before his conversion to Islām and after. It also provides a definite date in the life of Malik 'Alāu'd-Dīn *alias* Jai Singh; it sets right the record *vis-a-vis* the account in bardic narratives and establishes once for all that he flourished during the second half of the 14th century. The inscription also corroborates the Hindū names of the father and the son given in the bardic accounts referred to above.

Incidentally, Jai Singh's Islamic name is given as 'Alāu'd-Dīn Mubārak which may be taken either wholly as his own name—name with title—or, as his name followed by his father's with the *iqāfat-i-ibnī*.<sup>6</sup> But since the saint in his Memoirs calls him only by the name of Malik 'Alāu'd-Dīn, I have preferred to take it as the latter, in which case, it may be presumed that 'Alāu'd-Dīn had chosen to invest his father Bhojā also with an Islamic name. In his case too, the inscription is found to corroborate the name Bhoj Rāj given to Rāo Jai Singh's father in the bardic accounts.<sup>7</sup>

The Hindū name of 'Alāu'd-Dīn would appear to read like Jikh on the stone. But written as the text is in a cursive hand, the name can also be read as Jai Singh. What was then his correct name prior to his conversion? The Asiatic Society of Bengal manuscript of the *Mirqāt* has “جک”<sup>8</sup> while a modern copy (made from an early eighteenth century copy) now preserved in the Pīr Muḥammad Shāh Dargāh Library of Ahmadābād, has “جینگ”<sup>9</sup> which has been corrected in pencil to “جینگ” (obviously by Maulānā Abū Zafar Nadvī who had got it made while translating it in Urdū). All these forms are apparent scribe's errors for “جینگ” (Jai Singh). Maulānā Abū Zafar spells the name as Jai Singh in his

<sup>1</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 133 b; *Sirat*, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1969-70, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 132 a. *Sirat*, p. 206, translates it as *Paṭel* (Village Headman). *Muqaddim* was the chief revenue officer of a village or town.

<sup>4</sup> It is made out of flour, milk, purified butter and sugar or of bread-crusts, purified butter and sugar.

<sup>5</sup> *Mirqāt*, loc. cit.; *Sirat*, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> That is 'Alāu'd-Dīn-i-Mubārak.

<sup>7</sup> Agarwāl, *op. cit.*, p. 91, f.n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 132 a.

<sup>9</sup> *Mirqāt*, P. M. Dargāh Library Ms., Fann IX, No. 453, p. 169.



translation.<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that the correct spelling of the name is Jai Singh which also occurs in bardic accounts.

Lastly, the epigraph is silent about the status, official or otherwise, of Malik 'Alāu'd-Dīn *alias* Jai Singh. As stated above, bardic accounts make him Rāo Jai Singh, the chief of Lāḍnūn and spin a romantic story around his conversion to Islām. While our epigraph or the Memoirs does not have any information on this aspect of his life or career, it may be noted here that at least after his conversion to Islām, he was no more than the *Muqaddim* of the place. For, Shāikh Aḥmad's Memoirs clearly names Qāḍī Turk as the governor (*Hākīm*) of the town of Lāḍnūn,<sup>2</sup> at the time of his visit to the place in the company of Bābā Ishāq referred to above.

This also brings us to the absence of any status whatsoever accorded to Malik 'Alāu'd-Dīn or Jai Singh in the text of the epigraph under study. Could it mean that he had by that time retired from active service? Whatever be the case, there is little doubt that he was held in great esteem even after his conversion, a fact supported by his tomb or Ḥaḍīra situated close to the mosque known after his name.

In conclusion, attention may be drawn to a very important, but generally overlooked phenomenon in the social history of the 14th century India, particularly in its western sector.

It may be noted that the second half of the fourteenth century is rather conspicuous in the history of Western India in that it witnessed under Firūz Tughluq conversions to Islām of members of ruling families who later on founded independent kingdoms. These include the *Khānzādas* of Mewāt and of Nāgaur and *Sultāns* of Gujarāt. The Lāḍnūn chief Rāo Jai Singh also falls in this category. The genesis of this development does not seem to have drawn the attention so far of Indian historians.

<sup>1</sup> *Sirat*, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 132 a; *Sirat*, p. 206.

## TWO FOURTEENTH-CENTURY EPITAPHS FROM CENTRAL RAJASTHAN

BY DR. Z.A. DESAI

Nāgaur, a district headquarters in the erstwhile Jodhpur State as well as in the modern Indian state of Rājasthān,<sup>1</sup> is perhaps the richest place in that state as far as Arabic and Persian inscriptions are concerned, despite the fact that a considerable number of such epigraphs has disappeared over the past few centuries in political vicissitudes.<sup>2</sup> These inscriptions represent all periods of medieval Indian history under the Turks, Afghāns and Mughals, almost right from the invasions of Muḥammad bin Sām,<sup>3</sup> ranging as they do, in their dates, from A.H. 594 (1197-98 A.D.) to the end of the last century. Apart from their number, the importance of these epigraphs as the original source material for Rājasthān's history under successive dynasties and rulers is considerable, as has been shown from time to time in the earlier issues of this journal.

In this article, it is proposed to introduce two more inscriptions from the town. These comprise epitaphs of two persons who wielded power and authority under the later Tughluqs and who died, by a coincidence as it would appear, martyrs' death in battles, in the last decade of the eighth century Hijra (1388-1397 A.D.), both within a period of seven to eight years, of each other. These epitaphs as usual do not contain any details other than the manner of the death of the two grandees, their full names and titles and their place of work or position. Nevertheless, even this much information is historically very important, and in so much as the historical works fail to take any notice of them, it surely adds to our knowledge and does fill up important gaps in the history of the region during this particular period.

By a curious coincidence, both the inscribed sarcophagi were found built up, along with a number of other Arabic and Persian records, in a part of the city-wall that has escaped demolition by the civic authorities as will be narrated in the proper place, by the indefatigable zeal and energy of Pīrẓāda Raḥmatu'llāh Raunaq 'Uṭhmānī, a leading and cultured member of the community who is much interested in, and is the most knowledgeable person in the town on, the history not only of Nāgaur and its people but of the entire region.

<sup>1</sup> Practically all the available inscriptions from Nāgaur have been listed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1952-53, Nos. C, 108-09; 1961-62, Nos. D, 245-63; 1962-63, Nos. D, 226-35; 1963-64, Nos. D, 311-12; 1965-66, Nos. D, 334-66; 1966-67, Nos. D, 219-33; 1968-69, Nos. D, 421-27; 1969-70, Nos. D, 165-67; 1975-76, Nos. D, 171-89. The more important ones among these have been studied in detail in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)* and its continuation *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, for the details of which see *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 5 (& f.n. 3 where and *ibid.*, 1970, pp. 16, f.n. 2, 17, f.n. 2, etc. where further references to works dealing with the history and monuments of the town will also be found), 6 (pl. I b), 8 (pl. II b), 11 (pl. III a), 19 (pl. IV b); *ibid.*, 1968, pp. 3 (pl. I a) and 34 (pl. V b); *ibid.*, 1969, pp. 52 (pl. XIV b), 58 (pl. XV b) and 60 (pl. XV c); *ibid.*, 1970, pp. 21 (pl. II b), 23 (pl. II c), 24 (pl. III b), 28 (pl. IV a), 30 (pl. IV b), 32 (pl. V a), 36 (pl. VI b), 38 (pl. VII a), 40 (pl. VII b), 41 (pl. VIII a), 43 (pl. IX b) and 44 (pl. IX a).

<sup>2</sup> A comprehensive history of the town, though not free from mistakes as far as the medieval period is concerned, will be found in Dr. K.C. Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 242-50. Dr. Jain who has based his account on a number of literary, epigraphical and archaeological sources has surprisingly failed to consult *ARIE* and *EIAPS*.

<sup>3</sup> A newly found fragmentary inscription of this monarch dated A.H. 594 (1197-98 A.D.), from this place, was published in *EIAPS*, 1968, p. 3 (pl. I a).

## I. EPITAPH OF MALIK QUṬBU'D-DĪN NAJM

The huge sandstone sarcophagus bearing this epitaph is now kept in a cell in the Dargāh of Shāh 'Abdu's-Salām—popularly called Deorhī—situated in the Delhi-Darwāza Maḥalla of the town.<sup>1</sup> It was originally built up, upside down, in the outer face of that part of the city-wall, measuring about 500 metres on the northern side of the town and running east-west—to the north-east of the Akbarī-Mosque—which has escaped the misplaced demolition zeal of the local Municipal body. The almost miraculous story of how the sarcophagus was discovered by Pīrzāda 'Uṭhmānī may be recounted here in brief: While passing by the standing portion of the city-wall as was his wont, he spotted a part of what looked like an inscribed slab. After considerable labour, a portion thereof was exposed and this appeared to be part of a huge tombstone embedded in the wall, upside down. Being himself an ardent collector of inscriptional material, he got the stone detached with the help of other Pīrzādas and found it to contain an incomplete epitaph, in which the name was decipherable. His curiosity thus roused, he felt that the missing part of the sarcophagus might also be found somewhere nearby or in the city-wall itself. He started looking for a slab of the same colour, fabric and shape, and his efforts were soon rewarded. A slab of the same texture and design was found just a little further—barely half a metre or so—in the upper row of the masonry, also built up upside down. Having it dislodged, he found it to be the matching part of the sarcophagus. He immediately got both the slabs carted to the town and safely deposited in a cell in the premises of the above Dargāh.<sup>2</sup> The exact spot of the city-wall where the sarcophagus-pieces were found embedded on the outer face is located more or less in the middle between the two standing bastions, almost in line with the sarcophagus containing the second epitaph studied in this article.

The sarcophagus has been slightly damaged and lost a bit in the left corner of the foot-side, but fortunately the text is spared except the month and the date. The epitaph is in Persian prose interspersed with a single Persian verse and is inscribed all around the upper tier of the gravestone, the text starting from the headside and running clockwise. The tombstone originally marked the grave of Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm who was, as revealed by the text, a high official and leading personality of the region. Unfortunately, about the exact place of the Malik's grave nothing is known. Nor is it, at this stage, possible to determine the same or even try for it, hundreds of years after it was dislodged, like many others (including the other epitaph studied in this article), from its original place.<sup>3</sup>

The text running all along the four sides invokes Allāh's pardon for the visitor to the grave who prays for the deceased Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm, described as the magnificent Malik, the mine of generosity and magnanimity, the lord of sword and pen. It refers to him as the deputy (*Nā'ib*) of the *Shiq* (i.e. province) of Nāgaur and Jālor and provides further information that he laid down his life, fighting on the side of the army of the Muslims in the path of God's pleasure, before afternoon prayers, on a Tuesday of a month and date of the day which are lost in the year A.H. 791 (1389 A.D.); the text ends with a prayer for the Malik's good end and for a place for him in Paradise in the precincts of Allāh's pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1969-70, No. D, 167, where the sarcophagus was stated to be in the possession of Mr. Raunaq 'Uṭhmānī, on the basis of information supplied by Mr. M.F. Khān who had got its rubbings prepared, but according to Pīrzāda 'Uṭhmānī, it had been brought to the Deorhī from the beginning and is lying there since then. Mr. Khān was also unable to give information about the original findspot of the gravestone. These details were obtained by me from Pīrzāda 'Uṭhmānī in the course of one of my visits to Nāgaur.

<sup>2</sup> Pīrzāda 'Uṭhmānī has been instrumental in saving from destruction and depositing in safe places quite a few epigraphical tablets mostly recovered from the demolished city-wall and other outlying areas of the town.

<sup>3</sup> Readers of this series will recall that the Jodhpur ruler Bakht Singh is known to have destroyed many Muslim buildings of Nāgaur and utilised their stones in the construction of the city-wall (*EIAPS*, 1967, p. 5).

The calligraphy of the epigraph is *Naskh*. Engraved on four sides of the cenotaph over a total space of about 3·70 metres in length and 8 cm. in width on the stone, the text reads as under:—

## TEXT

## Plate IV (a)

(a) *Head-side.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(b) *East-side.*

بامرزش رساد آن آشنائی که چون اینجا رسد گوید دعائی  
قبر ملک معظم معدن الجود والکرم صاحب السیف والقلم ملک قطب الدین نجم طیب  
لله ثراه و جعل الجنة مشواه نایب شق ناگور و جالور که در فوج مسلمانان در

(c) *Foot-side.*

راه رضاء خدای تبارک و تعالی بتاريخ .....

(d) *West-side.*

..... سنه احدى و تسعين و سبعماية روز سه شنبه پیش از ادای نماز پیشین شهادت یافت  
جاوید بهشت جای بادت جان در حرم خدای بادت  
عاقبت بخیر باد آمین

## TRANSLATION

(a) In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(b) (Verse:) May that friend (lit. acquaintance) receive (Allāh's) forgiveness, who comes here and recites prayers (for the deceased)!

(This is the) grave of the magnificent Malik, the mine of generosity and magnanimity, lord of the sword and the pen, (namely) Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn (lit. Pole Star of the Faith) Najm—may Allāh render his grave (lit. earth) agreeable (to him) and make Paradise his abode—the deputy (*Nā'ib*) of the *Shiq* of Nāgaur and Jālor who while (fighting on the side) of the army of the Muslims,

(c) in the path of the pleasure of the Blessed and the Exalted God, on the date.....

(d) ..... of the year (A.H.) one and ninety and seven hundred (A.H. 791=1389 A.D.), on Tuesday, obtained martyrdom, before the time (lit. offering) of afternoon prayers.<sup>1</sup>

(Verse:)  
May eternal Paradise be your abode,  
may your soul rest in Lord's Sanctuary!  
May (his) end be good! Amen!

From the above text, it is no exaggeration to say that this epigraph is an important document from the historical point of view. One of the few epitaphs of men in authority—kings, princes or noblemen—of the pre-Mughal period that have survived anywhere in the country, it furnishes the name of a new Tughluqian official of the rank of a governor. Secondly, it refers to a political event, namely, a battle which was fought, as stated in the text, between the Muslims and their opponents. However, by this battle is meant, not a feud between

<sup>1</sup> The *Namāz-i-pīshīn* of the text is the Persian equivalent of 'Aḡr prayers.





the Muslims and the non-Muslims, as the unwary would be led to believe, but it was evidently one of the frequent battles that the state authorities—through its local or regional governor or the like—had to wage against rebellious elements, turbulent chiefs, independent or semi-independent rulers or small or big land-holders. Historical works do not mention Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm, leave alone any battle fought by him and claiming his life. This event would have gone unrecorded in history but for this epitaph. The battle must have been fought or at least raging on the date on which the Malik died—the latter's death was in all probability instantaneous—or at the most a few days prior to that, if the Malik had not died on the spot. Unfortunately, the date and the month of the year A.H. 791 (1389 A.D.) of the death are not found in the extant text, though the day, Tuesday, is. Also, the epigraph is silent on the exact nature of the engagement, the parties involved, the result of the battle, etc. It even does not mention the place or the site where it was fought.

Nevertheless, the epigraph adds to our knowledge of the history of the region at this period. The historical works dealing with the period, as usual, completely ignore the Malik and as such, this contemporary concrete monument of this historical personality should be considered important. Another piece of information furnished by the record is that at least at this period, Nāgaur and Jālor were parts of one *Shiq*.<sup>1</sup> This is quite an important and useful piece of information, particularly as we have no well-defined picture of the provincial or regional administrative divisions of the period. This is even more true, as stated above, of the area comprising the present State of Rājasthān, particularly its central and western parts.<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately, as in the case of another official of governor's rank Malik Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Chūpān, also of Nāgaur, who has been mentioned at some length in the article on the Lāḍnun inscription mentioning him,<sup>3</sup> the Memoirs of the celebrated Sarkhej saint *Shaiḥ* Aḥmad Khaṭṭū (died 1446)<sup>4</sup> describing some events of his life and experiences as related by the saint himself to his disciples,<sup>5</sup> furnishes some more details about Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm's career and personality. These may be summarised as follows:

According to *Shaiḥ* Aḥmad who, as has been stated elsewhere (p. 29, *supra*), belonged to Khaṭṭū (Baṛī Khāṭu of the present day) and in his earlier days used to make trips to Nāgaur, Ḍiḍwānā and Lāḍnun quite often, Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm was a son-in-law of Malik Raḍīu'l-Mulk, a great Firūzian nobleman and minister<sup>6</sup> and worked as the deputy at Ḍiḍ-

<sup>1</sup> A *Shiq* was a group of *parganas*. It also came to be known as *Sarkār* towards the end of the Sultanate (Dr. I.H. Qureshī, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Karachi, 1958, p. 11). Dr. I.H. Qureshī (*ibid.*, pp. 201-02) has also tried to establish the connotation of the term during the Sultanate period. Also see M.A. Raḥīm, 'History of the Shiqdār', *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XIII (1965), pp. 328-41. Dr. Qureshī as well as other writers on the subject have, however, not taken into account the epigraphical evidence on the use of this term at different periods in different regions.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 28, f.n. 2, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 27, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> For the career of the saint described as 'a remarkable person whose eminent virtues have given him a place in India among the saints of Islam' and description of his tomb at Sarkhej near Ahmadābād in Gujarāt, see M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 131-33.

<sup>5</sup> Of the two collections, the *Mirqātu'l-Wuṣūl ila'llāhi wa'r-Rasūl (Mirqāt)* of Maulānā Muḥammad bin Qāsim and *Tuḥfatu'l-Majālis* of *Shaiḥ* Maḥmūd Irajī, the former is more detailed and informative. Both are unpublished, but their Urdū translations—that of the first under an independent title *Sīrat-i-Aḥmadiya (Sīrat)*—made by the late Maulānā Sayyid Abū Ḍafar Nadvī are available in print. For details, see p. 28, *supra*.

<sup>6</sup> Malik Raḍīu'l-Mulk held the high position of a trustworthy minister under Muḥammad bin Tughluq *Shāh* (Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1862, p. 454). According to Yāhyā Sarhindī (*Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 98), his name was Ḥamīd and he had received the title Raḍīu'l-Mulk and the Department of *Ishrāf* (Fiscal matters) from that monarch. He was appointed 'Arīḍ-i-Mamālīk (Pay-Master General of the kingdom) under Firūz *Shāh* (*Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* quoted in S.A.A. Rizvī, *Tughluq-kālīn Bhārat*, part 2, Aligarh, 1957, p. 227).

wānā of the latter's son Malik Muḥammad Ḥājī (who also rose to occupy high position under Fīrūz Tughluq at Delhi). When Shaiḫh Aḥmad had visited the place once in the company of his spiritual guide Bābā Ishāq (d. 1374), he was not properly treated by the Malik whereupon the Bābā got enraged, scolded him in harsh terms and refused to allow him to kiss his hands after the Friday prayers.<sup>1</sup> At some other time, when Shaiḫh Aḥmad had gone to Dīdwanā on some errand, the Bābā, who had great affection for him, sent someone with a message to Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm to look for him and despatch him immediately to Khaṭṭu.<sup>2</sup> Once when Shaiḫh Aḥmad went to see a local savant Maulānā Abu'l-Faraj Raḍīu'd-Dīn at his house in Dīdwanā, the Malik also chanced to come there; it being a year of drought, the Malik was distributing ten to twenty measures of corn to the Muslims present at the Maulānā's house. Before his turn came, the Shaiḫh, not wishing to receive the corn, got up to leave, whereupon the Malik asked him where he had lodged, and on being told that he had put up at the house of Sayyid Abū Ṭālib, the Malik under threat of punishment ordered the latter to bring the Shaiḫh to his house. The Shaiḫh grudgingly went there to spare his host any reprisal at the hand of the official. The Malik received the Shaiḫh with great respect and utmost consideration and asked him to carry to Khaṭṭu one cart-load of wheat which he had set apart for Bābā Ishāq.<sup>3</sup> At one time, the Malik seems to have owed 400 *ṭankas* to Shaiḫh Aḥmad, which he had forgotten to pay and which he repaid on being reminded in a dream.<sup>4</sup> This event is stated to have taken place at Nāgaur, where the Malik must have shifted from Dīdwanā. It was probably after the death of Bābā Ishāq in 1374.

From the above account, it would appear that Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm was first stationed at Dīdwanā as the deputy of Malik Muḥammad Ḥājī, the governor. He seems to have remained there for some time till he went, obviously, to take charge of the *Iqtā'* of Nāgaur. For we are told of his being its *Muqṭa'*, when Shaiḫh Aḥmad, years after the death of Bābā Ishāq, halted at Nāgaur in about A.H. 791 (1388-89 A.D.), on way to the pilgrimage of the holy cities of Islām, in the company of eminent learned men and divines of Delhi. This was shortly before the death of the Malik which took place in 1389. At this time, Shaiḫh Aḥmad's companions had gone to see Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm who received them well and on being told about Shaiḫh Aḥmad's being their fellow-traveller, wanted to stop him from undertaking the hazardous journey. Fearing resistance from the Malik, the Shaiḫh quietly left Nāgaur.<sup>5</sup>

The saint also speaks of Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm as a very generous person.<sup>6</sup> As to his precedents or career, private or official, no further details are available, except that once Bābā Ishāq in a fit of anger (in the incident referred to above) had called him 'the son of a betelnut-seller'. This could perhaps be reasonably taken to mean that he originally belonged to merchants' class.

## II. EPITAPH OF ASADU'D-DĪN AFGHĀN

The tombstone carved with this epitaph<sup>7</sup> was also recovered from the above-mentioned city-wall by Pīrzāda Raḥmatu'llāh Raunaq 'Uṭhmānī in circumstances almost similar to

<sup>1</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 17 a; *Sirat*, p. 64. Bābā Ishāq is reported to have called him 'the son of a betelnut-seller'—*bachcha-i-supāri-furūsh*—which may be taken to indicate his family background.

<sup>2</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 19 b; *Sirat*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 25 b; *Sirat*, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 78 b; *Sirat*, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> *Mirqāt*, f. 134 a; *Sirat*, p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *ARIE*, 1975-76, No. D, 188.



those just described. The entire one-piece sarcophagus of light red sandstone of Nāgaur was found built up, upside down, about 15 metres to the west of the place where Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm's tombstone pieces were found. This sarcophagus now occupies the empty space on an open sepulchre-platform situated outside the city-wall towards what is an extensive old cemetery, at a distance of about 40 metres from its place of find and to the south-west of the Tombs of Sāt-Ḥāfiẓ (lit. Seven persons who had committed the *Qur'ān* to heart) and about a couple of hundred metres to the east of the Dargāh of Ṣūfi Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Su'ālī popularly called Tārikīn or Ṣūfi Ṣāhib.

Pirzāda 'Uṭhmānī is of the view that the sarcophagus originally belonged to this very place to which it has now been restored. It is an irony of fate indeed that the last resting-place marked by the tombstone is now a deserted and desolate place, uncared for or unattended to, but the man buried beneath it once held power over the life and death of hundreds of living beings over whom he exercised authority over a considerable period of time. For, according to his epitaph, which commences with the First Creed of Islām, the tombstone marked the grave of 'the martyr, the mighty, the most select, the revered, the august, the magnificent and martyr Sipahsālār (lit. Commander of the army), Asadu'd-Dīn son of the late Sipahsālār Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Buddhū son of Ja'far al-Afghān al-Balk(or g)arī, the governor (*Wālī*) of Sodhīt. His martyrdom is stated to have taken place on Friday, the 9th Rabi' II 798 (21st January 1396).

The person referred to in the epitaph thus belonged to a family of high official standing. The text designates him as Sipahsālār<sup>1</sup> (literally meaning Commander of an army), a title which he seems to have inherited from and was held, according to the text, by his father Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn Buddhū. But Sipahsālār Asadu'd-Dīn despite his position of authority is unknown to history. The father also appears to have enjoyed the high rank and position, probably of a local governor as is not only indicated by his designation Sipahsālār but also by the title Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn. Needless to say, he too, like his son, is untraceable in historical works, and both the son and the father would have remained unknown to posterity but for this record.

Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn's first name Buddhū is also not without interest.

The inscription does not quote Sipahsālār Asadu'd-Dīn's first name. He came of Afghān stock as is clearly stated in the text. But the place which gave him his *nisba* cannot be determined: this word which clearly reads like al-Balk(or g)arī on the stone is itself undefinable being so uncommon and obscure. The possibility of its being an inadvertent mistake for al-Bakkari, though somewhat remote, cannot be ruled out.

The epigraph provides the interesting information that Sipahsālār Asadu'd-Dīn was a governor (*Wālī*) and he died not a natural death but was killed. It is not clear, unlike in the case of Malik Quṭbu'd-Dīn Najm of the previous record, if he died fighting some enemy or fell to the blow of an individual or died of one of the causes that account for martyrdom. Very likely, he also met a soldier's death.

As in the case of the place of the Sipahsālār's origin, the town 'Sodhīt' of which he is mentioned as governor cannot be identified. Even the pronunciation of this name in the absence of vowel or diacritical marks cannot be claimed as definite: for, this place-name can be read in a number of ways, such as Saudhīt, Saud-hīt; Sodhīt, Sod-hīt; Sūdhit, Sūd-hīt, etc. and its correct form cannot be determined. Perhaps inhabitants of that area, or scholars of historical geography of Rājasthān and north-west provinces may be able to throw some light on this. I have tentatively preferred Sodhīt.

<sup>1</sup> Under the Mamlūks, a Sipahsālār commanded ten *Sarkhails*, each of whom had ten horsemen under him. In other words, he was equivalent to the Amīr-i-Ṣada of the early Tughluq period (Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1962, pp. 145, 495). See also I.H. Qureshī, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

In any case, it will be seen that the epigraph is historically very important, throwing fresh light on and providing new material for the history of this part of the country during this period. As such, it deserves to be preserved.

The language of the epitaph, unlike in the case of the preceding one, is Arabic. The text is inscribed along the four sides of the sarcophagus in fairly good *Naskh* and occupies a total writing space of 3·60 m. by 10 to 11 cm. It reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate IV (b)

## (a) Head-side.

لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله

## (b) East-side.

هذا القبر (كذا) الاجل الاخص المحترم السفهسالار السعيد الشهيد المعظم اسد الدين بن  
السفهسالار المرحوم اختيار الدين بدخو بن جعفر

## (c) Foot-side.

الافغان البلكري والى قصبه سودهيت

## (d) West-side.

طيب الله ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه و كانت شهادته يوم الجمعة التاسع من ربيع الآخر  
سنة ثمان و تسعين و سبعمائة

## TRANSLATION

(a) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

(b) This is the grave of the mighty, the most select, the revered, the august, the magnificent and the martyred Sifahsālār (i.e. Sipahsālār, lit. Commander of the army), Asadu'd-Dīn (lit. Lion of the Faith) son of the late Sifahsālār (i.e. Sipahsālār) Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn (lit. Select one of the Faith) Buddhū son of Jā'f(ar) al-Afghān al-Balk(or g)arī,<sup>1</sup> the governor (Wālī) of the town (Qaṣba) of Sodhit, may Allāh render his grave (lit. earth) agreeable to him and make Paradise his abode! And his martyrdom occurred on Friday the ninth of (the month of) Rabi'ul-Ākhar of the year (A.H.) eight and ninety and seven hundred (9 Rabi' II 798=21 January 1396).

Needless to say, both the above epigraphs are particularly important for local history which has always been neglected by imperial historians and chroniclers as well as modern historians (who unfortunately have not paid sufficient attention to epigraphical source, particularly Arabic and Persian records and who could bring more such records to light). They also indicate how authority had to be maintained through incessant warfare and at what cost. Students of history in general and those of Rājasthān's past in particular are, therefore, indebted to Pirzāda Raḥmatu'llāh Raunaq 'Uṭmānī for having brought to light and preserved these important records.

<sup>1</sup> In the absence of vowel marks, the name al-Balk(g)arī can be read in a number of ways like al-Bulk(g)arī, al-Bulk(g)irī, al-Bilk(g)arī, etc. There may have been or may still be a village answering to this name either in Afghānistān or north-west part of the sub-continent, but it is not possible to identify it or ascertain even its correct pronunciation.

## TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BAHMANI PERIOD FROM FIROZABAD

BY PROF. AKBARU'D-DĪN ŠIDDĪQĪ  
HYDERĀBĀD

The inscriptions studied in the following lines are from the mosque attached to the Dargāh of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Khalifatu'r-Raḥmān at Firozābād in the Jewargi (Andolā) Tāluka of Gulbargā district (previously in the H.E.H. Nizām's Dominions but now) in the Karnāṭaka State. Firozābād, now in ruins, lies overlooking a beautiful reach of the river Bhimā, about 20 kilometres to the west of Shāhābād railway station on the Gulbargā-Wāḍi section of the South-Central Railway.

We have very little information about the saint Khalifatu'r-Raḥmān. No authentic contemporary or later account about him is available, and the information furnished by modern works is confusing and even contradictory. For example, according to one source, he was the second son—first being Sayyid Yūnus Thānī-i-Gharīb Nawāz popularly known as Lūley Pīr—of Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Aṣḥraf Jahāngīr who died in A.H. 790 (1388 A.D.).<sup>1</sup>

According to Vazīr Aḥmad Khān, the saint's mother hailed from Baghdād in Irāq, which fact perhaps urged the saint to proceed from Gulbargā to that place for receiving education from its learned men. After visiting Karbalā, he also went to Yemen to pay a visit to the Tomb of his ancestor Ḥāfiẓ Sayyid Abū Mas'ūd Zahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Daulat Ḥamavī; the king of Yemen who had no issue having heard of his piety and saintliness requested him to pray for a male issue. The saint complied with his request on the condition that he would entrust his first son to the saint's custody. This necessitated his stay in Yemen till a second son was born to the king. From Yemen, the saint came to Firozābād during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh and selected a site, away from the habitation in a grove on the bank of the Bhimā where in a small cave he would engage himself in meditation.<sup>2</sup>

According to another account, Sayyid Aḥmad *alias* Khalifatu'r-Raḥmān was a younger brother of Sayyid Muḥammad Qādirī and son of Sayyid Yūnus Sharaf Jahān, and Sayyid Yūnus Lūley or Lalley Pīr was his son.<sup>3</sup> The same source goes on to add that he was temporarily buried at a place adjoining the eastern wall of the Gulbargā Fort before he was finally laid to rest in his present mausoleum at Firozābād.<sup>4</sup>

Firozābād was founded by Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī for the vast number of his permanent and temporary wives on the confluence of the river Bhimā and its small tributary Bithorā, whose waters were brought into the royal palace. Its streets were laid out with geometric symmetry and were very broad. Near the river, was erected a citadel of stone, divided into a number of splendid courts detached from each other, all plentifully supplied with water conducted by a large canal from the river. Each of these courts was consigned to one of the

<sup>1</sup> Vazīr Aḥmad Khān, *Ghauthia Saints in India and their Preachings*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* The cave is shown to the present day and devout persons are reported to perform meditation there.

<sup>3</sup> Mirān Aḥmadu'd-Dīn Sayyid Shāh Murtaḍā Qādirī, *Tadhkirat-i-Ma'shūq-i-Ilāhī* (Bijāpur, 1973), p. 38. This latter statement has not been substantiated or confirmed by any other source.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

Sulṭān's favourite ladies.<sup>1</sup> In its heyday, Firozābād was a large city with very wide and straight roads and fine shops and bazars and it was the virtual capital of that king. The new city had a large number of buildings, whose architecture was a class in itself with some prominent structural features and ideas not found outside Deccan. But unfortunately, ravages of time and utter neglect through centuries have taken their toll and turned this one-time thriving capital city into a deserted ruined place. Professor H.K. Sherwānī has rightly bemoaned the fact that the Hyderābād State Archaeological Department did not care to undertake a photographic and architectural survey of Firozābād, as recommended as early as in 1914 by Mr. L. Munn, a member of the Geological Survey of India and as a result, since Mr. Munn's letter, 'most of the buildings in Firozābād fort have fallen in and stones carried away by the population' by the time Professor Sherwānī wrote four decades later.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately, however, according to Dr. Klaus Fischer who visited Firozābād in 1954, and published a detailed account of his survey with a map and illustrations, the remains were still well enough preserved to give an idea of the town's previous splendour.<sup>3</sup>

In his letter under reference, Mr. Munn had given a detailed account of his own survey of Firozābād accompanied by a sketch which was published in the report of the said department. According to him, the main feature of the architecture of the Firozābād buildings is the combined use of dome and pyramid roofs, the structure of which, he felt, was well worth examination. In his opinion, the principle involved in these might be well described as concrete reinforced with stone, as could be gathered from the sketch made by him. Mr. Munn was struck by the entire completeness of this style of architecture, an entire system that lavishly developed from the ruins of that once famous pleasure-house.<sup>4</sup>

The town is surrounded by a dilapidated wall through which entrance is obtained by four gates, of which the south and north ones are best preserved. The one on the south, the Pānī-Darwāza, so called because it faces the river, has fluted caps on damaged turrets. This gate provides access to the Zanāna buildings which despite their ruinous condition are, according to Dr. Fischer, perhaps, the most conspicuous landmark. Its rooms are finely plastered and have here and there a hint of colour decoration. There is at the edge of the Zanāna enclosure a building called Kitchen but which in fact is a Turkish Bath. A small passage leads from the high Zanāna walls to the once stately Jāmi' mosque, about 105 by 60 metres, partly fallen, of which the eastern entrance is a fine example of architecture. Beyond the mosque is Kanchani-Maḥal. The last mentioned and other buildings at the place like Diwān-i-Khāṣṣ and Musāfir Khāna, mentioned by Mr. Munn, do not figure in Dr. Fischer's account and may have further deteriorated since Mr. Munn wrote. The latter had also referred to, and urged the need to investigate, the water-supply system of the place.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Kānpur, 1884), p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Professor H.K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* (Hyderābād, 1953), p. 173, f.n. 17. Incidentally, somebody from the State Archaeological Department does seem to have visited Firozābād during 1936-37, for a bare report of the discovery of two inscriptions there—evidently the same as those studied here, is made in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1936-37, ed. K.N. Dikshit (Delhi, 1940), pp. 125-26. The *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, H.E.H. Nizām's *Dominions* (ARADN), Faṣlī 1347/1937-38 A.C. (Calcutta, 1942), p. 12, merely states that the Department secured rubbings of inscriptions from Khālifatu'r-Rahmān's Tomb. Firozābād does not figure anywhere among the notable monuments surveyed during 1937-38.

<sup>3</sup> Klaus Fischer, 'Firozābād on the Bhīmā and its Environs', *Islamic Culture*, Hyderābād, vol. XXIX, No. 4 (October, 1955), pp. 246-55.

<sup>4</sup> For details, see ARADN, Faṣlī 1324/1914-15 A.C. (Calcutta, 1916), Appendix J (pp. 44-46).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Dr. Fischer (*op. cit.*, pp. 246-54) has given a more detailed and scientific account of the history and the buildings of the town, particularly of those of the environs, not mentioned by Mr. Munn.

The Dargāh of Shāh Khalifatu'r-Rahmān, the two inscriptions from which form the subject-matter of this article, is situated to the north of the present Firozābād village, and north-west of the old capital city, immediately to the north of the road towards Gulbargā, there being a large compound of buildings, tombstones and a tank on the way.

The Dargāh, built on a cruciform plan, is covered by a large dome of the Persian type. At the four arms of the terrace stand four cupolas of the ribbed pattern, presenting a contrast to the huge central dome, under which at four corners are four pavilions enclosing a large spacious square. In the hall on the west, towards the north, is the grave of the saint—exactly at the place, it is said, where the saint lived, taught and preached during his life-time. Nearby, the grave under the large dome in the western corner is believed to contain the remains of the saint's teacher. Dr. Fischer notices similarity between this building and the Langar-ki-Masjid at Gulbargā<sup>1</sup> and also draws attention to the Tughluqian feature of the batter of the buttressed walls of the Dargāh.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the death of Ḥaḍrat Khalifatu'r-Rahmān is not known. Nor is it possible to determine the same. The epigraphs under study also do not afford any help in the matter; they do not even mention him. But the building of his Dargāh is assignable to the early Bahmanī period on architectural style, and hence, the saint may have flourished in the early part of Firūz Shāh's reign, if not earlier. There is a vast burial-ground adjoining the Dargāh, but none of the graves except one mentioned earlier is inscribed.<sup>3</sup>

#### INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This mosque, from the entrance of the compound-wall of which the inscription studied below was copied, is attached to the above Dargāh and is of quite modest dimensions being only about 4·5 by 2·7 metres. Originally a three-bayed edifice, the openings of this since deserted mosque have been now filled up. It is even doubtful if the inscription pertained to this mosque, as it assigns the construction of a mosque to the Bahmanī king himself who founded the new city of Firozābād. Is it not likely that the inscription assigning the erection of a mosque to the king may have originally belonged to the Jāmi' mosque mentioned above, which has no inscription at present and which can be reasonably expected to have been provided originally with one? The Jāmi' mosque would appear to have a greater claim to this inscription than this modest building. The absence of or any reference to the saint's name in the record is also significant in this context. It is not therefore unlikely that the epigraphical tablet might have been shifted from the ruined Jāmi' mosque to the present place to ensure its preservation.

The epigraphical tablet is fixed above the entrance of the mosque-compound<sup>4</sup> and contains a text of three lines in Arabic. The tablet being exposed to weather, its lettering in relief is slightly affected and as a result, one *nisba* could not be satisfactorily deciphered. The epigraph states that 'this auspicious mosque' was built by the greatest and magnificent Sulṭān, the most accomplished among the Sulṭāns of Arabia and 'Ajam,<sup>5</sup> Abū'l-Muẓaffar Tāju'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Firūz Shāh, through the efforts of (lit. one who was intermediary, namely)

<sup>1</sup> For a general description and architectural features of this mosque, see Professor H.K. Sherwānī and Dr. P. M. Joshi, ed. *History of Medieval Deccan* (1295-1724), vol. II (Hyderābād, 1974), p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-53.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1968-69, No. D, 380. Dr. Fischer also refers to the tombstone. He also refers to a stone, between the tank and the Dargāh, bearing an Arabic inscription, which he could not fully or correctly read (*op. cit.*, p. 252).

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1968-69, No. D, 379.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ajam is usually intended to indicate non-Arab Islamic countries in general and Irān in particular.

Aḥmad son of Ḥusain al-Ḥiṣnī Kaifī on the last day (i.e. 30th) of Rajab 808 (21st January 1406). The text ends with a prayer for the intermediary and the builder as also for one who strives for keeping it in a fair condition, who offers prayers, recites the *Qur'ān* therein and prays for the builder and the intermediary.

The epigraph is also remarkable for its calligraphy. The script is that variety of *Naskh* with *Riqā'* flourishes which was developed in some parts of India during the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries and in which some letters are given sharply pointed forms or roundish flourishes for artistic effect. While this feature is not absent in contemporary or slightly earlier Bahmanī inscriptions from Gulbargā and other places,<sup>1</sup> the calligraphy of the present inscription rather resembles that of its counterparts in the north, particularly in Gujarāt. Moreover, the Bahmanī records as a rule lack the artistic arrangement of symmetrical placings of vertical strokes of letters extended to the top and the *Riqā'*-like formations of horizontal letters placed along these, adopted in this record, which recalls to mind similar artistic devices of some of the inscriptions in Gujarāt, Bihār, Bengāl and Uttar Pradesh.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the weather has taken its toll in that the letters in relief have lost some of their sharpness, thus reducing its artistic effect. Nevertheless, the execution is quite neat, and the overall visual effect is not completely lost on the beholder.

The tablet measures 65 by 40 cm. and the inscription has been read as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate V (b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انشاء هذا المسجد المبارك السلطان الاعظم المعظم افضل  
 سلاطين العرب والعجم ابوالمظفر تاج الدنيا والدين فيروز شاه السلطان  
 ٢ خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سلخ شهر المبارك رجب سنة ثمانو ثمانماية وكان سبب  
 انشاى العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى احمد بن حسين الحصنى كيفى غفرالله له ولوالديه ولمن  
 ٣ انشاء ولمن سع (كذا) فى اصلاحه ولمن كان جلب ؟ فيه ولمن قرأ ودعا لها  
 بالخير غفر الله لها ولوالديها ولجميع المسلمين آمين يا رب العالمين

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. This auspicious mosque was started and raised by the greatest and magnificent Sultān, the most eminent among the Sultāns of Arabia and 'Ajam (other Islamic countries),<sup>3</sup> Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) Tājū'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Crown of the State and the Faith), Firūz Shāh the Sultān,

(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, on the last day (i.e. 30th) of the auspicious month of Rajab, year (A.H.) eight and eight hundred (30 Rajab 808 = 21 January 1406). And the means of its being raised (i.e. one who was instrumental for or supervised its construction) is the creature who is dependant on (lit. needy of) the Exalted Allāh, Aḥmad son of Ḥusain al-Ḥiṣnī Kaifī, may Allāh pardon him and his parents and (also pardon) one who

<sup>1</sup> See for example, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1964, pls. VIII b (dated A.H. 774), IX a (circa A. H. 775), IX b (dated A. H. 781) and XI b (an inscription of Firūz Shāh himself, dated A.H. 819).

<sup>2</sup> For example, see *ibid.*, 1962, pl. VI a (dated A.H. 775), and VII c (dated A.H. 784), from Gujarāt; *ibid.*, 1963, pl. I a (dated A.H. 769), from Bihār; and *ibid.*, 1964, pl. I b (dated A.H. 710), pl. III c (dated A.H. 761) and pl. IV a (dated A.H. 762), from Uttar Pradesh.

<sup>3</sup> See note 5 on p. 41, *supra*.

(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 824,  
from Firozābād (p. 44)



SCALE : .22

BAHMANI INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARNĀṬAKA

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 808, from the same place (p. 42)



SCALE : .26





(3) has raised it and one who strives for its refinement and proper upkeep, who joins (prayers) therein and one who recites the *Qur'ān* (there) and one who prays for the betterment of the said two. May Allāh pardon these two, their parents and all the Muslims ! Amen, O Lord of the Worlds !

The inscription thus clearly assigns the construction of the mosque to the Sultān. The question as to whether the mosque referred to could be the Jāmī' mosque has been discussed above. The epigraph also provides the information that the construction was undertaken at the suggestion or under the supervision of Aḥmad son of Ḥusain for, the word *sababu inṣhā'ihī*, literally meaning 'the mean of its construction', can be so interpreted. About this person, nothing is known. He cannot be identified from literary or historical works available to us. Nor does the text give any clear indication of his status, official or otherwise, or profession. But it is reasonable, in view of the circumstances of the construction of the mosque, to hold that Aḥmad must have held some office in the court or near the person of the Sultān.

It will be seen that in the portion of the text after his father's name Ḥusain, the reading of one of the two appellations (*nisbas*) reads like 'al-Ḥiṣnī' which would literally mean belonging to 'the Fort', the connotation of which is not clear to me. Whether 'the Fort' refers to any fort in general (cf. the term *Mahallī*) or to any particular place going by that name, it is difficult to say. Likewise, the significance of the other sobriquet Kaifī used along with the said *nisba*—the word *Kaif* literally means enjoyment, exhilaration, joy, etc.—I am unable to suggest except that it may be his popular name or *nom-de-plume*. It could perhaps be Kifī connecting him to Kif, but in such cases, the word is usually prefixed by the definite article 'al'.

Before passing on to the other inscription, a few words may be said about the text of the record. This is in Arabic unlike all but one inscription of this monarch that have come to our notice so far, which are, again, with a single exception, in Persian verse,<sup>1</sup> and as such one may not expect the usual set of regal titles and *kunya* used with the king's names as in inscriptions, particularly those on coins. In his solitary prose inscription from Miraj, the king's titles, viz. Tāju'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn and *kunya* Abū'l-Muẓaffar<sup>2</sup> are used, as in the case of the inscription under study and his coins.<sup>3</sup> However, the present inscription also uses for him a set of high sounding epithets like the greatest and the magnificent Sultān and the lord of Arabia and 'Ajam.

## INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The second inscription from Firozābād is quite interesting: it is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet measuring 30 by 65 cm. which is at present set up as the headstone of a grave near the Dargāh.<sup>4</sup> The exposure of the tablet to elements of nature over the centuries has damaged the writing, affecting, as in the case of the previous epigraph, the sharp outline of letters in relief. There are, as a result, two words representing the name of the father of the deceased and the place at which the latter was killed which could not be determined beyond doubt.

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, pp. 13, 14, pls. VII b and VIII a (A.H. 810), 15, pl. VIII b (A.H. 814), all from Sāgar; *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 57, pl. XVI a (A.H. 809), from Mānvi: *ibid.*, 1964, pp. 32-33, pl. X a (A.H. 818), from Miraj, 33-34, pl. XI b (A.H. 819), from Gulbargā.

Of these, only the Miraj inscription is in prose, the language, as in the case of the Firozābād inscription under study, being Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> The Mānvi inscription which is in Persian verse uses the *kunya* Abū'l-Faṭḥ (lit. Father of victory) which seems to have been used by the composer in place of Abū'l-Muẓaffar (lit. Father of the victorious) due to exigencies of metre.

<sup>3</sup> H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II (Oxford, 1907), p. 199, No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *ARIE*, 1968-69, No. D, 380.

From the text, it appears that the record was intended to serve as the epitaph of Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Khwāja Ḥamza Samsām<sup>1</sup> a'r-Rūmī, a resident of Bursa, who was killed at some place, the name of which reads like Barāfī, on or before the 9th Ṣafar 824 (13th February 1421).

The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good type, but without any artistic arrangement and generally conforms to the calligraphy of other Bahmanī records. The language is faulty Arabic with a solitary phrase in Persian.

The text begins with the First Creed, the *Basmala* and affirmation in seeking the help of God. Then follows an appropriate Quranic verse asserting the immortality of those killed in Allāh's way and their being provided with sustenance by him. It has been read as under :—

## TEXT

## Plate V (a)

١ لا اله الا الله  
٢ محمد رسول الله  
٣ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به نستعين  
٤ ولا تحسبن الذين قتلوا في سبيل الله  
٥ اسواتا بل احياء [ع] عند ربهم يرزقون  
٦ هذه القبر (كذا) السعيد الشهيد المرحوم  
٧ خواجه شمس الدين محمد بن خواجه حمزه  
٨ سمسام الرومي از شهر برسه در قريه برافى  
٩ كشته شده تحريرا التاسع من شهر  
١٠ صفر سنة اربع وعشرين و ثمانماية

## TRANSLATION

- (1) There is no god but Allāh,
- (2) Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.
- (3) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And to Him we look for help.
- (4) 'And reckon not those who are killed in the path of Allāh
- (5) as dead: nay, they are alive (and) are provided sustenance from their Lord'.<sup>3</sup>
- (6) This is the grave of the fortunate (and) the martyred creature who has been taken into Allāh's mercy,
- (7) Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Khwāja Ḥamza
- (8-9) Samsām<sup>4</sup> the Rūmī (i.e. Turk), hailing from the city of Bursa, who was killed in the village of Barāfī (?). Written on the ninth of the month (of)
- (10) Ṣafar, year (A.H.) four and twenty and eight hundred (9 Ṣafar 824=13 February 1421).

Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Rūmī's claim to being known to posterity only rests on this inscribed tablet. For, like the person mentioned in the previous epigraph, this man whose

<sup>1</sup> See the next note.

<sup>2</sup> This word should be "سمسام" —Samsām.

<sup>3</sup> *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 168.

<sup>4</sup> See the last but one note.

epitaph we have just read is not recorded in history, nor is there any information in the text that could help us to identify him. However, the inscription does provide some interesting information about him: it mentions him as a martyr, further elucidating that he was killed<sup>1</sup> at a village (*Qarya*), the name of which reads like Barāfi. Since the text has specified the fact, the site where *Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad* was killed must have been some, if not more distance, away, whence his dead body was brought to Firozābād and buried there near the Dargāh. This fact may also perhaps be taken to indicate that the *Khwāja* had some association, official or otherwise, with the town.

Again, it is difficult to say if the *Khwāja* was killed in some stray incident or skirmish or in any full-fledged battle. No battle of note is recorded in historical works to have taken place at about this time, but that does not rule out the possibility of one having taken place. It is therefore all the more regrettable that the name of the place where the *Khwāja* died cannot be satisfactorily determined. The reading 'Barāfi' is quite unfamiliar for an Indian place-name, but there should be little doubt that the place where he was killed must have been in India.

Lastly, it may be noted that the deceased must have been a fresh immigrant or visitor from Turkey, having been a resident of its famous city Bursa. Whether he had come to Deccan for permanent domicile or on a temporary visit for commercial or like purpose, it is not possible to say. But it is a wellknown fact that Firūz Shāh was the first Bahmanī ruler who had encouraged the influx of foreigners, the Irānians, the 'Irāqīs and the Arabs.<sup>2</sup> That Turks also formed part of this influx is shown by this epigraph.

<sup>1</sup> A martyr's death may also be due to some categories of unnatural causes like drowning, snake-bite, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

## A UNIQUE INSCRIPTION OF MALWA PRINCE QADR KHAN FROM CHANDERI

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When I was working in the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nāgpur, during 1959-1968, I had the opportunity to visit among other places in India, Chanderi, a town in the Mungāoli Tahsil of the Gunā district of Madhya Pradesh more than once. It was in the course of one of these visits in 1965 that I came across the inscription under study which, on scrutiny, was found to be a unique record of the Mālwa Prince Qadr Khān whom historians, ancient and modern, have by and large ignored.

Chanderi has had the reputation of being, throughout the medieval period, one of the most strategic places in Central India. This important fortified town is most picturesquely situated in a great bay of sandstone hills, entered by narrow passes, which in former days made it a place of considerable strength and strategic importance. The entire area of the town and its environs situated in the valley of the Betwā river presents a panorama of ruined or desolate but picturesque mosques, tombs, dwelling-houses and other buildings, built of local sandstone, and ornamented, in the case of tombs, with fine stone-grills.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the site is conspicuous in all the archaeological centres of the region for the wealth of its old medieval monuments. Chanderi was until recently a rich and flourishing place and is 'still famous for its fine muslins and gold brocade industry—a few of the many industries of the once flourishing and self-contained city which alone survive to this day'.

Though the town is believed to have been conquered in 1251 by Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, its occupation does not seem to have been permanent, as within half a century, we find it in the list of places recommended to be conquered immediately after the accession of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji. The date of its actual conquest by that monarch is not known, but it was conquered quite some time before A.H. 711 (1312 A.D.), the date of the Chanderi record of that Sultān.<sup>2</sup> This is the earliest known Muslim inscription from the place. It is generally believed that 'Alāu'd-Dīn's general 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī subjugated Chanderi in 1305, but none of the contemporary and late Sultanate historians refers to specific conquest of Chanderi by him.<sup>3</sup>

From this time onwards, however, Chanderi remained almost continuously part of the Delhi Sultanate, the Mālwa kingdom and the Mughal empire. Under the Mughals, in 1680, the Bundelā Chief Devī Sinh was appointed governor of Chanderi district, and the fort re-

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of the town, its monuments, and inscriptions, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. II (Simla, 1871, Reprint, Delhi, 1972), pp. 404-12; *Imperial Gazetteer (IG)*, vol. X (Oxford, 1908), pp. 163-64; C.E. Luard, *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, vol. I Text and Tables (Calcutta, 1908), pp. 209-12; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department Gwalior State (ARADG)* for year 1924-25, Vikrama Samvat 1981, pp. 4-6, 11-12; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1952-53, Nos. C, 62-65, 67; 1961-62, Nos. D, 42-62; 1962-63, Nos. D, 59-64; 1965-66, Nos. D, 115-124; 1966-67, Nos. D, 61-62; 1967-68, Nos. D, 241-43; 1969-70, Nos. D, 96-103; 1975-76, No. D, 123; *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1968, pp. 4-10.

<sup>2</sup> *EIAPS*, 1968, pp. 4-10.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed examination of the problem, see *ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

mained in his line until 1811 or so, when it was annexed by Daulat Rāo Sindhiā of Gwālior to his territories.<sup>1</sup>

It is no wonder, therefore, that Chanderi should be a rich mine of Arabic and Persian inscriptions adorning a large number of monuments of sorts. These inscriptions, unfolding a history of half a millenium—the earliest is dated 1312<sup>2</sup> and the latest 1817<sup>3</sup>—include quite a few valuable records of the Mālwa Sultāns. It is just possible that a house-to-house survey may even now bring to light some more records.

Anyway, it is unfortunate that no complete or systematic survey of Chanderi was made until the sixties of this century and even less interest was shown by scholars to utilise the epigraphical material that was since brought to light. Even those few epigraphs from the place which had been first published or noticed by the Gwālior State Archaeological Department in 1924-25,<sup>4</sup> have not been taken note of, though these should have whetted the curiosity for finding out more such records from the place. The Gwālior State Archaeological Department had listed a little more than a dozen inscriptions from Chanderi, a few loose tablets nearing which were removed to the State Museum, Gwālior. Of these, four inscriptions were published by Mr. Rām Singh Saksenā of Gwālior more than fifty years ago,<sup>5</sup> four by Maulavī Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad of the then Department of Archaeology, Government of India and later on Director General, Department of Archaeology, Government of Pākistān and later Treasurer, Rājshāhī University, Bānglādesh, about thirty years back,<sup>6</sup> and two by Professor B.D. Vermā of Poona.<sup>7</sup> But even in research works written after that, no notice was taken of the wealth of information contained in these inscriptions. Even Dr. U.N. Day whose *Medieval Malwa, A Political and Cultural History 1401-1562* is the only available modern history of the Mālwa Sultanate has, as has been earlier remarked, overlooked this extremely important source and thereby could not avoid a number of mistakes in his work.<sup>8</sup> A few years back, I had edited, in joint authorship with Dr. Z.A. Desāi, Editor of the present Series, 14 more inscriptions from Chanderi and its environs<sup>9</sup> and five records, independently—four occurring on the famous Kuḥk-Maḥal there,<sup>10</sup> and one from nearby Pirānpur.<sup>11</sup>

The importance of these records which furnish in some cases new information, supplement, in some, our knowledge of the history of the period and elucidate or correct in other, faulty or erroneous information contained in written sources and modern works as well, can be easily judged from the studies just mentioned. It was, it may be recalled, a unique record from Pirānpur near Chanderi only which threw new light on the existence of a sovereign principality, however nominal or short-lived, which was set up by Muḥammad Shāh, a brother

<sup>1</sup> For details, see Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 406-11; *IG*, vol. X, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 59; *EIAPS*, 1968, p. 5 (pl. I b).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1961-62, No. D, 53.

<sup>4</sup> *ARADG*, 1924-25, Appendix E, Nos. 4-11, 13-17; 1927-28, Appendix D, No. 126; 1934-35, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. I (1925), pp. 655-56; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1925-26, p. 15 (pl. VII a), p. 17 (pl. VII b), p. 21 (pl. X a). Cf. *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 62; 1962-63, No. D, 59; 1966-67, No. D, 61; 1969-70, No. D, 98. Also cf. *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 124-25.

<sup>6</sup> *EIM*, 1939-40, p. 43 (pl. XIX a), p. 45 (pl. XIX b), p. 46 (pls. XX a, b). Cf. *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 64; 1969-70, Nos. D, 96, 97, 98. Also cf. *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 119 (pl. XXXI a), p. 123 (pl. XXXI c). Cf. *ARIE*, 1952-53, Nos. C, 63, 67.

<sup>8</sup> *EIAPS*, 1970, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 48 (pl. XVI c), p. 52 (pl. XVII c), p. 57 (pl. XVIII a), p. 59 (pl. XVIII b), p. 60 (pl. XIX a), p. 63 (pl. XX a), p. 65 (pl. XX b), p. 67 (pl. XXI a), p. 70 (pl. XXII b), p. 73 (pl. XXI b), p. 74 (pl. XXIII a), p. 75 (pl. XXIII b), p. 77 (pl. XXIV b), p. 78 (pl. XXIV a).

<sup>10</sup> *EIAPS*, 1965, pp. 21-22 (pl. VIII).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1970, p. 3 (pl. I b) (pl. VIII).

of Maḥmūd Shāh II (1511-1531) and was ruled over after him by his son Aḥmad Shāh during whose reign it was set up.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription which is the topic of this article is one more such unique inscription found at Chanderi. It is a record of the early 15th century pertaining to the Ghori period of the Mālwa Sultanate. The epigraphical tablet measuring 103 by 27 cm. is built up in the west wall of the Tomb of Shāh Kamāl, situated near the Bus Station.<sup>2</sup> The Tomb is a beautiful building of modest dimensions. Adjacent to it is a small mosque, which has on its central *mihrāb* an inscription in Arabic characters which is unfortunately far too obliterated to admit of any decipherment.<sup>3</sup>

The epigraph under study is metrical, consisting of eight Persian couplets, preceded by *Basmala*, inscribed in three lines, but the quality of verse is uneven, though not as bad as in the case of a number of inscriptions of the region, from Chanderi and elsewhere. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque in A.H. 818 (1416 A.D.) by the orders of Tamur entitled Jawād during the time of Qadr Khān.

The first two verses of the text refer to the completion of the construction of a 'graceful mosque' having taken place in the time of the generous Khān of great favours, Lord (*Khudāy-gān*) of the time, the great and the noble Qadr Khān, 'one who is the mainstay of religion and beautifier of Islām'. The third and fourth verses give the auspicious time—day, month and year—of construction, namely, Friday, the 9th Dhu'l-Qa'da year 818 from the Migration of the Prophet (9 Dhu'l-Qa'da 818=10 January 1416). The next two verses contain the name and title of the builder and his praises: according to the fifth and sixth couplets, the edifice came into existence through the efforts of a pious person, through whose assistance all the affairs (of the world) take shape, one who is a strict adherent of the religious code (*Shari'at*) and a member of government, Tamur by name and with the title Jawād (lit. munificent). The last two verses are invocatory: The seventh couplet invokes prayers for the builder's good end and further increase in his worldly glory, and the eighth and the last verse expresses the hope that the entire world be his servant and the old sphere his slave for ever.

The tablet is cut into well-marked eighteen panels to accommodate the text comprising sixteen hemistichs, one each to a panel: the remaining two panels, devoted to the *Basmala*, have their somewhat blank spaces—left so due to the short text—decorated with a fine fringed *torana*-like design.

The artistic effect of execution is enhanced by the style of writing which is *Naskh* with *Riqā'*-like artistic flourishes. The calligraphy, which is particularly remarkable for the sharp and pointed outlines of its letters, is of a fairly high order and must have been the work of an expert calligrapher, whose artistic genius is reflected in the *Tughra*-type arrangement of the text, one letter having been written above one or more letters.

The text has been read as under:—

#### TEXT

#### Plate II (a)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
بعهد دولت خان كريم ذوالاکرام  
شده عمارت اين مسجد لطيف تمام  
خدايگان زمان قدر خان عظيم و شريف  
کزوست تقويت دين و زينت اسلام

<sup>1</sup> For details, see *EIAPS*, 1970, pp. 2-8.

<sup>2</sup> *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 116.

<sup>3</sup> It was not copied.

۲ بروز جمعہ و دیگر نہم ذوالقعدہ  
 بوقت سعد و بہنگام و ساعت فرجام  
 زسال ہیصد و ہزدہ کزوست تاریخی  
 مرا از ہجرت مرسل کے بود خیر انام  
 بناء اینست ز صاحب دلے کے درگیتے  
 گرفتہ کز مدد او ہمہ امور نظام  
 ۳ امام اہل شریعت قوام اہل دول  
 جواد ہست خطابش تمر مر او را نام  
 خدای عاقبتش بخیر گرداند  
 بدھر حشمت او را مزید باد مدام  
 بود ہمیشہ مر او را ہمہ جہان<sup>۱</sup> چار کر  
 بود ہمیشہ مر او را سپہر پیر غلام

## TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

This graceful mosque received completion in the time of the rule of the generous and benign *Khān*,

the Lord of the Time, Qadr *Khān* the great and the noble, on account of whom Faith enjoys strength and Islām, beauty,

(2) on the day of congregational prayers (*Jum'a* i.e. Friday), and then, the ninth of (the month of) *Dhu'l-Qa'da*, at a happy time and auspicious hour and season,

of the year eight hundred and eighteen which in reckoning had passed after the Migration of the Heavenly sent Messenger (Prophet Muḥammad) who was the best of mankind (Friday, 9 *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 818=10 January 1416).

The construction of this edifice is by that man of heart (i.e. of piety and courage), through whose assistance all the affairs in the world have taken shape (i.e. received proper administration),

(3) (and who is) a leader (*Imām*) of the religious code (*Shari'at*) and a pillar among the men of government; *Jawād* (lit. munificent) is his title and *Tamur* is his name.

May God render his end good and happy! May his glory in the world be ever on the increase!

May the entire world be always his servant! May the old sphere be for ever his slave!

The historical importance of this record lies in the fact that as already pointed out above, it represents a unique record mentioning Qadr *Khān* as an independent ruler of Chanderi. It is rather surprising that almost all the better known historians—*Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad*, *Firishṭa*, *Hājji Dabir* and the like totally ignore him in their account of the region in their works. Even the earlier *Shihāb Ḥakīm*, author of the *Ma'āthir-i-Maḥmūd Shāhi* (composed 1469)<sup>2</sup> does not mention him. It was only through a stray remark of the still earlier *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadi* of the contemporary *Bihāmad Khāni* (compiled 1438-39) and through still an

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently the engraver's mistake for "چاکر".

<sup>2</sup> This work is available in print only in the abridged Delhi edition: *Shihāb Ḥakīm, Ma'āthir-i-Maḥmūd Shāhi*, ed. Dr. Nūru'l-Ḥasan Anṣārī (Delhi, 1968).

earlier literary source, a lexicographical work named *Adātu'l-Fuḍalā* of Qāḍī Khān Badr Dhārwal, who started for his court from Jaunpur in A.H. 822 (1419 A.D.) that Qadr Khān who is given the status of an independent chief in our record could be satisfactorily identified.

According to both Qāḍī Khān Badr Dhārwal<sup>1</sup> and Bihāmad Khānī,<sup>2</sup> Qadr Khān was a brother of Sultān Hoṣhang Shāh (and son of Dilāwar Khān Ghori). He was in independent control of Chanderi, for the latter says that 'when Qadr Khān of praiseworthy habits died, the district (*Khitta*) of Chanderi came into possession of Hoṣhang Shāh'. In another place, Bihāmad Khānī speaks of the Deputy and Commander-in-Chief of the chief of the Chanderi district.<sup>3</sup>

Qāḍī Khān Badr thus speaks of Qadr Khān in his work:—

"In the year (A.H.) 822, I started from Jaunpur for kissing the dust of the lofty threshold of the residents of the court of the Pride of the Khāns of Grandees' achievements, and the high doorstep of the habitants of the audience-hall of the most dignified of the Khāqāns of Caesars' glories, the regulator of the organisations of the affairs of the well-being of the universe, the layer of the foundations of the palaces of the affairs of sovereignty (*Salṭanat*) by right, the Tahamtan of the universe and the commander of the world, Khān-i-A'ẓam Khāqān-i-Mu'azzam Masnad-i-'Āli Qadr Khān, may Allāh perpetuate his grades of glory and preserve the lamp of his government from the blows of adversity." Badr Dhārwal also refers to his praiseworthy qualities of a king (*Shahryār*) and laudable virtues of a sovereign (*Jahāndār*): ... the chiefs of the time famous for their prowess and bravery had put their heads in the collar of his submission and under the yoke of his servitude at his door which is the shelter of the world.<sup>4</sup>

From the above, it is clear that on the death of Dilāwar Khān Ghori in 1406, of his two sons, Alp Khān succeeded him on the throne of Mālwa under the royal name Hoṣhang Shāh,<sup>5</sup> whereupon his brother Qadr Khān set up his rival principality with the seat of government at Chanderi. This is more than implied by the statement of Bihāmad Khānī, quoted above, that when Qadr Khān died, the Chanderi region came into the possession of his brother Hoṣhang Shāh.

Thus, there was a precedence in the history of the Mālwa Sultanate, of a rival king, if not a rival claimant to the throne. Both the brothers appear to have made this arrangement by way of amicable settlement, which Hoṣhang Shāh, in view of the uncertain circumstances created by his powerful Gujarāt neighbour was perhaps compelled to make.<sup>6</sup> In any case,

<sup>1</sup> Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, London*, vol. II (London, 1881), p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Bihāmad Khānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, Rotograph of the British Museum manuscript in the History Department, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, f. 429 a; *ibid.*, Hindi extracts in S.A.A. Rizvi, *Tughluq-kālīn Bhārat*, part 2 (Aligarh, 1957), p. 235. Cf. also *ibid.*, Eng. tr. (portion only) Muḥammad Zaki (Aligarh, 1972), p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Bihāmad Khānī, *op. cit.*, f. 469 b; Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Adātu'l-Fuḍalā*, Ms. Aligarh Muslim University Library, Fārsī Lughāt 5(5), ff. 2-3. The above translation was made from the extract copied by my friend Mr. S.S. Hussain of the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nāgpur. The said manuscript, an 1827 copy, is quite corrupt. I have received help in its translation as well as copious suggestions in the preparation of this article from Dr. Z.A. Desai, Director (Epigraphy), Nāgpur. To both of them, I am thankful.

<sup>5</sup> It may be pointed out that Hoṣhang Shāh does not seem to have assumed full regal titles etc. until quite later. See Zaki, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 235. Shihāb Ḥakīm, *op. cit.*, p. 18, also after describing his achievements in the neighbouring regions and exploits in Jājnagar, Telang, etc., says, 'when the resources of glory became available, he sat on the throne and the Coin and the Sermon were honoured by his auspicious name'.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Nazir Aḥmad in his article on the *Adātu'l-Fuḍalā* (*Urdū*, Karāchi, vol. 43, No. 4, October 1967, p. 7)



this also corrects a wrong statement: Dr. Day is obviously wrong in saying that 'Hoshang Shāh does not seem to have had any brother, because we do not find any rival claimant at the time of his accession during his imprisonment in Gujarāt'.<sup>1</sup>

Our epigraph thus does confirm, by implication, the statement of Bihāmad Khāni that Qadr Khān was a brother of Hoshang Shāh. It is rather unfortunate that the inscription does not give any further details about him beyond extolling him as the 'generous Khān of manifold favours, the Lord of the Time, the great and the noble'. But one more bit of information, extremely interesting in itself, is provided by the *Adātu'l-Fuḍālā*: according to its author Qāḍī Khān, Qadr Khān was a patron of men of letters and his court was a resort of poets and learned men. It was as a matter of fact his fame as a munificent patron of learning which had spread far and wide that compelled the lexicographer to leave Jaunpur and come to Qadr Khān's court to which he hoped to obtain, and did obtain, access, through his dictionary.<sup>2</sup>

Our inscription, however, does provide a definite date in the life of Qadr Khān. As we have seen above, the only thing known about him is that he had predeceased Hoshang Shāh who had died as we know in A.H. 838 (1435 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> Now in different copies of the *Adātu'l-Fuḍālā*, its date of composition is given as either A.H. 812<sup>4</sup> or A.H. 822.<sup>5</sup> Our inscription is dated A.H. 818, which shows that Qadr Khān ruled at Chanderi at least until A.H. 818, if the date A.H. 812 of the compilation of the *Adāt*, as given by Rieu is correct, or at least till A.H. 822 if the other date is correct. There is, however, indirect evidence to indicate that very probably Qadr Khān continued to exercise authority until about A.H. 835 (1431-32 A.D.). We are told that the Kālpi ruler Jalāl Khān, son of Qāḍī Shāh of Kālpi by the sister of the Mālwa Sultān Hoshang Shāh, after his dethronement was sent in that year to Chanderi, evidently to take charge of the region.<sup>6</sup> This could be interpreted to mean that Qadr Khān had died in or not very long before that year.

As regards the builder of the mosque, Tamur,<sup>7</sup> no information is available from historical works seen by me. The epigraph under study does seem to indicate that Tamur enjoyed a high position in governmental hierarchy. The text mentions his title Jawād (lit. munificent) and calls him a man of the government and one who was worthy of being served by the world and the heaven. It may be inferred from the second hemistich of couplet 5—'through whose assistance all the affairs have received shape'—that he might have been the minister of Qadr Khān.

(foot-note contd. from p. 50)

states on the authority of Bihāmad Khāni that Qadr Khān had become governor or ruler of Chanderi during his father's time. The article does not quote the page or folio of the *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi*, but I could not find this statement in the published Hindi extracts and the English translation, though very likely it was so.

<sup>1</sup> Day, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Nazir Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7; Rieu, *op. cit.* Qāḍī Khān, *op. cit.*, f. 3, says "..... the savants and the jurists, the dress of whose life is embroidered with the decoration of (the Tradition) 'the learned men among my followers are like the prophets of the Banī Isrā'il' have taken abode and made their residence in the shadow of his government and kindness, and the accomplished men and poets who are, in creating new styles in artifices of words and novelties of meaning, the champions in the battlefields of eloquence and Rhetorics, have chosen shelter under the protection of his greatness and liberality ....."

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion about the date, see Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>4</sup> Rieu, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> H. Blochmann, 'Contributions to Persian Lexicography', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXVII (1868), part I (Calcutta, 1869), p. 7. The copy referred to by Dr. Nazir Ahmad has A.H. 822 (*op. cit.*, p. 6). This is also given in M.Z. Hudā, 'Pre-Mughal Persian Lexicography of Indo-Pak Sub-continent', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Dacca, vol. XIII, No. 1 (April, 1968), p. 29 and f.n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Bihāmad Khāni, *op. cit.*, f. 456 a; Rizvi, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> For a note on the pronunciation of this name, see *EIAPS*, 1968, pp. 8-9.

In short, the inscription provides welcome information about the history of Mālwa in general and Chanderi in particular.

## A MAHDAR FROM HUKERI IN KARNATAKA

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I have taken up for study in this article the text of a *Mahḍar* engraved on a stone-slab which was found at the historically important town of Hukeri in the Belgaum district of Karnāṭaka State. The existence of this *Mahḍar* was not unknown to scholars: It was duly but rather summarily reported in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* as far back as in 1942, but it did not receive such attention of scholars and historians as was its due. In the course of my visit to Hukeri in search of inscriptions in 1964, I re-copied the epigraph and had occasion to study it in detail. Subsequently, I read a paper thereon at the Seminar on Medieval Inscriptions, held under the auspices of the Centre of Advanced Study of the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, in February 1970, where along with photographs and impressions of other Persian and Arabic inscriptions, its impression was also exhibited. The paper was greatly appreciated and I was advised to publish it. The same is now published here in a revised and enlarged form with copious notes on the history of the town as also of the institution of *Mahḍar*.

Hukeri is situated in 18° 13' N. and 74° 36' E. in the Chikoḍi Tālukā of Belgaum district. The town has a long history in the Muslim period. Its first mention occurs in connection with Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh's subjugation of parts of modern Karnāṭaka in 1327, when he stationed a governor there.<sup>1</sup> During the turmoil of the Deccan in about 1346, caused by the rebels headed by Ismā'il Muḥ, 'Alāu'l-Mulk, brother of Qutluḡ Khān, had summoned along with the Amīrān-i-Ṣada of Rāichur, Mudgal and Gulbargā, those of Hukeri as well to Daulatābād.<sup>2</sup> On his coronation, Ismā'il conferred the title Zafar Khān and the fief of Hukeri along with Rāybāg, Miraj, Kalhār and Gulbargā on Ḥasan who within a short time succeeded him to the throne under the title 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh.<sup>3</sup> The latter transferred Hukeri along with Belgaum and Miraj to his son Prince Muḥammad towards the end of his reign.<sup>4</sup> Though, some time after this but before 1375, Belgaum fort seems to have been lost to the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and held by their Hindū vassal till 1472,<sup>5</sup> the territories under Belgaum, north of the river Ghāṭaprabhā including Athni and Chikoḍi, continued to be part of the Deccan kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

Belgaum fort was retaken by Muḥammad III Bahmanī in 1473, thus bringing the whole of the erstwhile Bombay-Karnāṭaka region under the Bahmanī authority.<sup>7</sup> Five years

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer (BG)*, vol. XXI, *Belgaum* (Bombay, 1884), pp. 362, 568; *Imperial Gazetteer (IG)*, vol. XIII (Oxford, 1908), p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Kānpur, 1884), vol. I, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Madrās, 1948), p. 521; Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 275; Dr. Āghā Mahdī Ḥusain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 300; H. K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan* (Hyderābād, 1953), p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (Hyderābād, 1936), p. 29. The statement (*BG*, XXI, p. 363) that in 1375 Bahman Shāh placed his Belgaum possessions under Malik Saifu'd-Dīn Ghori, does not seem to be correct in the light of the statement of Ṭabāṭabā.

<sup>5</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 352; Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

<sup>6</sup> *BG*, XXI, p. 361.

<sup>7</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 352; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 320; *BG*, XXI, p. 365.

later, when the Bahmanī Prime Minister Maḥmūd-i-Gāwān divided the kingdom into eight divisions (*Ṭarafs*), the region between the forts of Goā and Belgaum along with other places was placed under the charge of Fakhrū'l-Mulk.<sup>1</sup> Sometime after 1491, this region along with the Konkan forts was usurped by the unscrupulous and intrepid Koṭwāl of Goā, Bahādur Gilānī, who attempted to carve out an independent principality of his own.<sup>2</sup> On Bahādur's death in 1494,<sup>3</sup> at the instance of Qāsim Barīd, the former's possessions around Goā and Belgaum were given in fief to Malik Ilyās entitled 'Ainu'l-Mulk and the rest to Malik Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and others.<sup>4</sup> In 1497, when 'Ainu'l-Mulk was killed in action against Qāsim Barīd, his son Miyān Muḥammad received the parental title and fief at the instance of Yūsuf 'Adil Khān,<sup>5</sup> who later on made him his Commander-in-Chief at Bijāpur. But Miyān Muḥammad's growing power coupled with his resentment over the Bijāpur Ṭarafdār's predilection to Shī'a Creed, caused apprehension to the latter, who not only removed him from the new post, but also reduced his fief to Hukeri and Belgaum in 1503.<sup>6</sup> Hukeri continued to be part of his fief until his death in about 1546. He is believed to have built the Hukeri fort and palace, aqueducts and cisterns and the largest of the Hukeri tombs.<sup>7</sup>

We hear of one more 'Ainu'l-Mulk who seems to have been associated with Hukeri and the neighbourhood. According to Firishṭa, his name was Saif. He was born in Gujarāt of Saifu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī and a man of prowess and courage, he rose to be one of the leading nobles there, with ten thousand soldiers on his rolls. After the death of the Gujarāt Sulṭān, Bahādur, in 1537, he shifted to Ahmadnagar where he was made Amīru'l-Umarā. The exact year or period of his migration to Ahmadnagar is not indicated; according to some, he came in the time of Burhān Niẓām Shāh,<sup>8</sup> while according to others, he came much later.<sup>9</sup>

In any case, all the authorities are agreed about Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk's advent at Ahmadnagar after 1550. On 2nd October 1551, he launched a surprise attack on Ibrāhīm

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 356; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 323; BG, XXI, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 368; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 372. According to Stokes (quoted in BG, XXI, p. 568), Hukeri and its neighbourhood was in charge of one Fateḥ Bahādur, a captain of one thousand, in about 1500. Very likely, Stoke's Fateḥ Bahādur is none other than Bahādur Gilānī.

<sup>3</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 370; Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-53; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-76.

<sup>4</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 370; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Also cf. Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 372 and vol. II (Kānpur, 1884), p. 9. According to Ṭabāṭabā (*op. cit.*, p. 159), this happened in A.H. 909 (1503 A.D.).

<sup>6</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 11; BG, XXI, p. 568.

<sup>7</sup> BG, XXI, p. 568, calls him 'Ainu'l-Mulk Gilānī, but does not quote any authority for this statement. Firishṭa, it may be pointed out, does not mention him at all after his dismissal in 1503.

<sup>8</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 123.

<sup>9</sup> According to Ṭabāṭabā (*op. cit.*, p. 328), Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk came to Ahmadnagar from Golkondā. He is stated to have been related to the Golkondā royal family and, on the death of Jamshīd Qulī in 1550, raised his minor son Subḥān Qulī to the throne arrogating to himself all authority and power, but had to leave Golkondā on the arrival of Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagara. According to Professor Sherwānī who derives his information from the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammad Quṭb Shāhī*, Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk was a premier Barīdī nobleman who had defalcated and went over to Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh at the battle of Kaulās (though according to him again, *op. cit.*, p. 31, 'Ainu'l-Mulk was a premier nobleman of Sulṭān Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk), had fled towards the close of the reign of Jamshīd Qulī to Ahmadnagar, was recalled at the latter's death by the Dowager Queen to act as the *Vakil* and *Pishwā* of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom and enjoyed absolute authority overcoming all opposition until the arrival to Golkondā of Ibrāhīm (for details, see *ibid.*, pp. 89, 91, 99-104, 118 f.n. 64). Professor Sherwānī's indictment that there is no evidence for his having belonged to the royal family is not correct in view of Ṭabāṭabā's clear mention referred to above. Again, Firishṭa's significant statement that Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had rewarded Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk's slave Qabūl Khān, who safely took the women-folk of 'Ainu'l-Mulk and his nephew Ṣalābat Khān to Golkondā, with suitable fief (Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 123), also indicates Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk's high connections with Golkondā.

I 'Ādil Shāh as the commander of Burhān Nizām Shāh I at Kalyānī.<sup>1</sup> But later on, being apprehensive of the new king Ḥusain Nizām Shāh, he first went over to Berār and then to Bijāpur where Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh made him Amīru'l-Umarā and conferred upon him the fief of Mān, Hukeri and Rāybāg.<sup>2</sup>

But there seems to have arisen some mistrust and misunderstanding about him on the part of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh particularly after the battle of Sholāpur in October 1555 when he commanded the vanguard of the Bijāpur army against the allied forces of Ahmadnagar and Berār that had threatened the 'Ādil Shāhī territories. Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk displayed great valour in this battle and was on the point of routing the enemy when, on some intriguing persons poisoning the mind of 'Ādil Shāh against him, the latter left the battle-field and returned post-haste to his capital. Efforts were made after this to withdraw his fief, which he resisted with great valour but in vain. Ultimately he sought refuge with Ḥusain Nizām Shāh in the third year of his reign i.e. in 1555-56, to be treacherously killed at Bhingār near the Nizām Shāhī capital.<sup>3</sup>

After his death, the fief of Hukeri and adjoining territories held by Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk seems to have been allotted to Kishwar Khān Lārī,<sup>4</sup> who appears to have held it until his death in 1569-70.<sup>5</sup>

From about 1578 or so, we hear of the Hukeri fief held by one more 'Ainu'l-Mulk. An 'Ādil Shāhī official, he was actively engaged in the 'Ādil Shāhī operations against the chiefs of Karnāṭaka as well as in the encounters with the Nizām Shāhī forces. He also made an unsuccessful bid to become the Pishwā after the death of Kishwar Khān and retired to Hukeri which he did not leave thereafter except when summoned to take part in the 'Ādil Shāhī wars against the Golkondā or Ahmadnagar forces some time or the other. His complicity in the conspiracy against the king in league with his brother Prince Ismā'il who was then under detention at the Belgaum fort, having become known, his loyalty was never above doubt. Ultimately, he was killed in 1595 between Hukeri and Rāybāg, in the attack made on him by Ḥamīd Khān who was specially commissioned by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to chastise the rebels.<sup>6</sup>

(ii)

The *Maḥḍar* inscription under study is extremely important: it is perhaps the only record of its type either on stone or paper in Persian that has come to light so far, illustrating the prevalent system of local administration.

It is a known fact that Muslim rulers including the Mughals did not interfere with the local administration of the village communities in any manner. Dr. Parmātmā Saran, who has devoted considerable space to this aspect of Mughal administration, while acknowledging the fact that the methods and authority by which the village bodies were constituted varied widely in different parts of the country and at different periods, felt that 'no detailed examina-

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 31, 119; Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-34, 380.

<sup>2</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 32, 121; Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 34, 119, 121, 122-23; Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 386, 392, 393, 394. Incidentally, Ṭabāṭabā (p. 392) supplies an interesting piece of information that Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk was sent for by a faction of Gujarāt noblemen after the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd III to occupy the throne of Gujarāt. This would also point to Saif 'Ainu'l-Mulk's Gujarātī origin.

<sup>4</sup> Zubairī, *Basātinu's-Salātīn* (Hyderābād, no date), p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> These events are described in great detail by Firishṭa (*op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 63, 64, 65, 66, 74-75, 84, etc.); however, the printed text at times has 'Ainu'l-Mulk Kin'ānī, but he seems to have been a different person.

For subsequent history of Hukeri, see BG, XXI, pp. 568-69.

tion of this question is either possible or necessary here'.<sup>1</sup> The present *Mahḍar* furnishes an interesting document on this aspect of village administration as was prevalent—so at least it would appear from the available epigraphical and archival material—all over the Marāṭhī-speaking area of the Deccan plateau, the area bordering it and even in some parts of the coastal region of Konkan.<sup>2</sup> This type of local administration was represented by a system of management of local affairs, either private or public, which mainly worked through holding of Council or Assembly (*Majlis*), the grants made or decisions taken by which were drawn up in the form of an agreed statement attested by all the participant members. The most remarkable aspect of this system was its wide-based and democratic composition—universal representation of all the sections of the local population on this decision-taking semi-official body. This remarkable product of the political and social conditions of the times, which was widely current in Mahārāshṭra in the medieval period, provided a viable machinery which formed an important link between the administrative units of local government (comprising the local government servants, that is the public officials) on one hand and the indigenous semi-officials and public utility men belonging to cross sections of the society (tradesmen, craftsmen, land-holders, artisans, service-class, etc.) on the other.

These two wings or constituents of this Assembly have been termed or designated as the *Dīwān* and the *Got* respectively in Marāṭhī language in which, a large number of *Mahḍar* documents has come down to us. A critical analysis of 161 such Marāṭhī documents, coming from different parts of the regions referred to above and ranging in their dates from 1333 to 1731, was made with copious details, some time back, by Mr. V.T. Gune,<sup>3</sup> according to whom, this remarkable system was brought to Deccan by the Muslims from the north. The office of the Qāḍī, in the words of Mr. Gune, might have been responsible for its development under the Sultāns of Deccan.<sup>4</sup> In any case, the institution affords a fascinating example of the assimilation in the local system of the Islamic procedure in dispensing justice or carrying out administration in the rural areas.

Ironically, the institution as such does not appear to have been so prominently prevalent or so conspicuously working in the north. At least that is the verdict of the extant material at our disposal. We have not so far come across any such *Mahḍar* document in the north. This is not to say that the institution of the Decree-by-Assembly-decision, which in fact the *Mahḍar* is, was unknown there. On the contrary, it finds mention in literature. But the few instances in which these *Mahḍars* are stated to have been drawn up revolve round or relate to religious matters, particularly points of differences of opinion in these matters. For instance, the earliest *Mahḍar* we know of took place in the time of the Mamlūk ruler Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish (1210-1235), when Shaikhul-Islām Najmu'd-Dīn Ṣughrā vainly tried to impeach a saint of repute, Shaikh Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrizī, on a faked charge of adultery.<sup>5</sup> The next *Mahḍar* referred to in literature related to the implication of Sīdī Maulā in the conspiracy against Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn Khaljī (1290-96).<sup>6</sup> A third *Mahḍar* which took place in the reign of Sultān Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-25), related to the legality or religious permissiveness of Samā'; it involved the celebrated saint Shaikh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliya.<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Parmātmā Saran, *Provincial Administration of the Mughals* (Allahābād, 1941), p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Saran's account of the village council, covering its origin, constitution, functions, etc., will be found in *ibid.*, pp. 240-49.

<sup>3</sup> V.T. Gune, 'A Critical Analysis of the Mahzars (A.D. 1400-1800)', *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona*, vol. VIII (K.N. Dikshit Memorial Volume), 1946-47, Poona (no date), pp. 260-379.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizāmī, *Salāṭīn-i-Dihli-ke-Madīhahī Ruḡḡanāt* in Urdū (Delhi, 1958), p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209, f.n. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.

most widely known *Mahḍar* (popularly but wrongly called the Infallible Decree) was drawn up to invest the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605) with supreme authority and power in matters, both ecclesiastical and mundane.<sup>1</sup>

But both the form as well as subject-matter of the *Mahḍar* as was in vogue in Deccan show a marked difference: As to the form, no document or specimen containing the entire text of the minutes, so to say, of the proceedings as in the case of the Marāṭhī *Mahḍars*, has come down to us. No doubt, we do have a copy of the *Mahḍar* of Akbar, but it is, strictly speaking, not this type of Decision-by-Assembly; it was first drawn up, as is well-known, by Shaikh Mubārak and was then endorsed by 'Ulamā and others. Also, its original document itself has not come down to us.

On the other hand, in the case of the Deccan, the form of the *Mahḍar* can be exactly defined. In the north, the assembly consisted of royal court with religious luminaries whose concurrence was sought and indicated through the affixing of their seals thereto; it was something like the Brahmasabhās of the Deccan. In the *Mahḍars* of the Deccan, as is known from the extant Marāṭhī documents, the assembly consisted of the *Hāqir-i-Majlis* (i.e. the Chief) who conducted the proceedings; the *Diwān* or the government officials and servants such as the *Hākim-i-Shar'* or the *Qādī*, his Deputy (*Nā'ib*), *Shūbedār*, *Havāldār*, *Majmū'dār*, *Sar-Naubat*, *Sar-Girūh*, *Mushrif*, etc.; the *Got* comprising the indigenous chiefs or heads of the place or area like *Deshmukh*, *Deshkulkarnī*, *Amīn*, *Chaugule*, the officers of the Mart (*Peṭh*), like *Shete*, *Mahājan*, *Chaudhary*, etc., the village officials and servants like *Muqaddam*, *Kulkarnī* and the *Balūtās*, the landholders and other tenants in the villages, the 28 *Khūms*<sup>2</sup> or different tradesmen and craftsmen of the Mart and the Brahmasabhā of the learned Brahmins. It was this entire group which, at least technically, took and endorsed a decision on any matter brought before it and recorded it in the *Mahḍar* document, which was followed by the date and the ending formula, duly attested through the Seal.<sup>3</sup>

In the main contents too, the *Mahḍar* in the south materially differed from its northern counterpart: the subject-matter of the aforesaid *Mahḍars* of the north, revolved, in some way or the other, as already pointed out, round some religious matter, whereas those in the Deccan dealt with subjects affecting the life of the community, in all its conceivable variety, such as for example: written agreement for the performance of certain duties as headman, record-keeper, etc.; formal confirmation concerning transactions of local importance; public attestation of persons professing knowledge of the circumstances of a particular case; collective agreement or representation; and discussion on matters of rights of inheritance and landed or movable property, emoluments, privileges, perquisites and rights of the *pargana* and village officials like *Deshmukh*, *Deshpānde*, *Deshkulkarnī*, *Muqaddam*, *Kulkarnī*, Village Astrologer and Record-keeper, Potter, Gardener, Watchman, *Shete*, Priest, etc., and on boundary dispute.<sup>4</sup>

### (iii)

With this historical background and explanatory notes, we proceed to the study proper of the *Mahḍar* document.

The tablet on which this Persian *Mahḍar* is carved is broken into two fragments which are now lying in a dried up ruined step-well called Kaṭṭebhāvi situated in a field locally known

<sup>1</sup> 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1865), pp. 270-80.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Marāṭhī form of the Arabic *Qaum* meaning 'People, Tribe, Class, Caste'.

<sup>3</sup> Gune, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 261-62, where the *Mahḍars* taken up for detailed critical analysis (pp. 264-379) have been classified subject-wise.

as Pīr-kā-Malā about a kilometre and a half to the east of the town.<sup>1</sup> In its notice in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, referred to above, it was described 'to record an endowment of some property'.<sup>2</sup> There was another inscribed slab at Hukeri which was reported to be then lying on the road near the Girls School.<sup>3</sup> Its contents which are in Marāṭhī were noted in the said Report on the basis of its decipherment by Mr. G.H. Khare, formerly Curator of the Bhārat Itihās Samshodhak Maṇḍal, Poona, for the Government (now Chief) Epigraphist. According to Mr. Khare's reading, the text mentioned two names, viz. Malik bhāi bin Shekh Māhāmada Khaṭīb and Mullā Husain son of Mullā Māhāmada, and is dated Śaka 1505, Subhānu Jyeṣṭha Śu. 12.<sup>4</sup> This date corresponds to 11 Jumādā I 991 (23 May 1583). Since the names of Qāḍī Malik son of Shaikh Muḥammad Khaṭīb and Mullā Husain son of Mullā Muḥammad also occur in the Persian record under study, the Marāṭhī record can be safely presumed to be the Marāṭhī counterpart of the Persian *Mahḍar* or *vice versa*.

The slab containing the text of the Persian *Mahḍar* measures in its entirety 1.4 m. by 54 cm. Its four-line text in prose is carved in relief in *Naskh*, the high quality of which is apparent despite the fact that the lettering is slightly affected by adverse climatic conditions and exposure. The record seems to have been penned by an expert calligrapher who has unfortunately not given his name.

The record represents the text of an agreed deposition given in writing by the *Mahājan* and *Balūtās* of the town (*Qaṣba*) of Hukeri to the effect that one *Chāwar*<sup>5</sup> land belonging to Jay Seṭhī near the *Kāranja* (i.e. Water-Storage tank or fountain) was endowed for (the maintenance of) the said *Kāranja* and the Guest-House (*Mihmān-Khāna*) constructed by Maṇṣūr Khān for public use. The deposition also lays down the amount to be spent on the two items: three-fourth of the income derived from the land in question was to be utilised for the upkeep and maintenance of the *Kāranja*, while the remaining one-fourth was meant for the Guest-House.

The deposition further supplies the information that Maṇṣūr Khān entrusted the land to Mirān son of Ḥasan. This was evidently for cultivation, the produce-share of which was intended to be spent on maintenance. The document also abjures the violators of the agreement, condemning the Muslims among them to having committed the sin of embracing Christianity<sup>6</sup> and the Hindūs to having committed the unpardonable sin of killing and eating a cow in Banāras (Vārānasi) and Kāshī<sup>7</sup> and being guilty of fornication. It then proceeds to report the names of the participants of the Assembly (*Jamā'at*)<sup>8</sup> in whose presence the *Mahḍar* was drawn up. The list contains in all thirty-three names including those of the *Diwān* and the *Got*.

The Persian version is undated. The Assembly must have obviously met on the date Śaka 1505, Subhānu Jyeṣṭha Śu. 12 (corresponding to 11 Jumādā I 991), mentioned in the

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1963-64, No. D, 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1942-43, No. E, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. E, 7.

<sup>4</sup> The impression of this Marāṭhī record and a transcript of its text were sent to us on request by the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. But the reading is too incomplete to provide any worthwhile purport; as a matter of fact, the year transcribed therein is 2505 (sic.) which is perhaps a slip of pen for 1505. The transcript in question is followed by a note that 'the inscription is very much damaged and worn out'. However, it is felt that concentrated efforts including attempts at decipherment on the stone could yield better results.—Editor.

<sup>5</sup> *Chāwar*, according to H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms, etc.* (London, 1855, Reprint, Delhi, 1968), p. 107, col. 2, is a Marāṭhī word, representing a measure of land equivalent to 120 square *bighas*.

<sup>6</sup> The implication of this curse will be explained later on.

<sup>7</sup> Banāras and Kāshī are both old names of the locality now called Vārānasi. The text has Banāras.

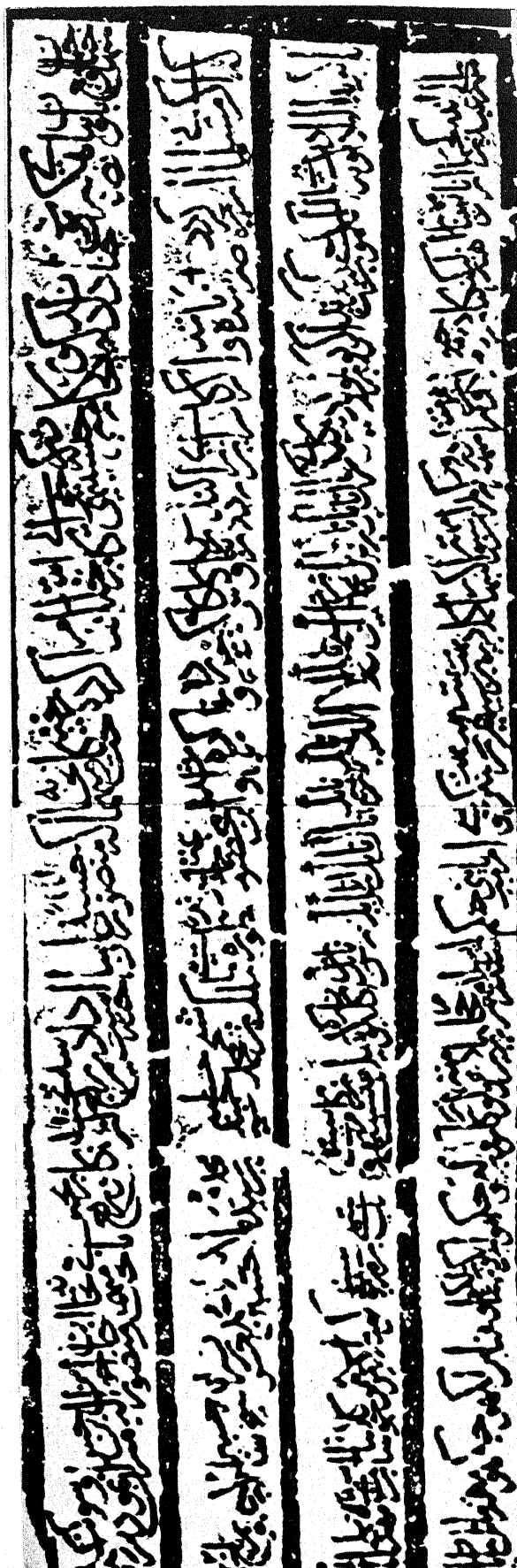
<sup>8</sup> This is synonymous with *Majlis*.





## A MAHĪDAR FROM KARNĀṬAKA

A Maḥḍar from Hukeri (p. 59)



Marāṭhī version mentioned above. Fortunately this date can be easily verified. Maṇṣūr Khān, the builder of the *Kāranja* and the Guest-House mentioned in the Persian document, is known to have laid the foundation of the Jāmi' or congregational mosque (at Hukeri) in A.H. 990 (1582-83 A.D.) and completed it in A.H. 992 (1584 A.D.), according to the inscription fixed on the gate of the compound of the mosque in question.<sup>1</sup> Also, the Jāmi' mosque inscription clearly mentions him as (an officer) having become popular with the general public through the blessings (lit. good fortune) of 'Ainu'l-Mulk'<sup>2</sup> which can be taken to indicate that he worked under 'Ainu'l-Mulk, who can be none other than the third fief-holder of Hukeri with that title who held the region from about 1578 to 1595 as seen above (p. 55 *supra*). From this, it can be reasonably surmised that the *Mahḍar* was drawn up some time during or around A.H. 990-92 (1582-84 A.D.). This very well fits in with the equivalent 11 Jumādā I 991 (23 May 1583) mentioned in the Marāṭhī version. In other words, either the Decision-by-Assembly was taken or the text of the Persian *Mahḍar* was inscribed on this date.

The term *Kāranja* is locally meant to indicate a Fountain or a Water-duct or Water-storage. It is originally derived from the Persian *Kāriz* meaning a water-course, especially one constructed for irrigation underneath the surface of the ground. The word, denoting an important part of the running urban water-system devised and so extensively used under the Muslim rule at least in State or provincial capitals like Ahmadābād, Ahmadnagar, Aurangābād, Bijāpur, Golkondā, etc.,<sup>3</sup> occurs in the chronicles of the period.<sup>4</sup>

The tablet measures 1.50 metres by 50 cm. and the engraved text of the inscription reads as follows:—

## TEXT

## Plate VI

۱ جمیع سہاجنان و بلوتیان قصبہ ہکیرے چنان نوشتہ دادند کہ یکچاور زمین جیسیتھی کہ در حوالے کارنجہ است انعام کردہ تحت کارنجہ و میہمانخانہ کہ منصور خان حسبہ اللہ ساختہ است دادیم سہ ربع ازان تحت کارنجہ و ربع باقی تحت میہمانخانہ و منصور خان این حوالہ میران بن حسن نمود و سوگند کردند

۲ کہ اگر مسلمانے ازین بر گردد نصرانے شدہ باشد واگر کافرے این را رد کند در بنارس و کشی گاؤ کشتہ خوردہ و زنا کردہ باشد و این محضر جماعۃ مسطورہ نوشتہ شدہ قاضی ملک بن شیخ محمد خطیب سید حمید بن سید مخدوم ملا حسین بن ملا محمد حسن بن نصر اللہ شیخ حسین سالار جیو بن تاج الدین—

۳ بل گوندا داماد تانے گوندا—لکموچے بن کسن گوندا—کو کو بن لو کو دیش کلکرنے—مال نایک بن ناگ نایک محمد نایک بن شیخ نایک علا الدین نایک بن بشیر نایک—ناگ نایک—لنگ نایک—نرس نایک بن کلگونہ پتیل—ہنسیتھے بن کام سیتھے—ونایک سیتھے بن ہربوسیتھے—کونکل دیو سیتھے—جو کلاسا بن ساریت سیتھے سہرتیلے—ابا جے ؟ بن سرام کلکرنے—

<sup>1</sup> *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 245.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Almost the entire system of water-works and the distribution can be traced even to-day at places like Aurangābād, Bijāpur, Golkondā, etc. But unfortunately this aspect of our medieval city-planning has not received any attention from competent workers in the field.

<sup>4</sup> See for example, Rafi'u'd-Dīn Shīrāzi, *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk* (MS), f. 92 a. The word has survived to-date in the locality-name 'Kāranj', near the Bhadra citadel in Ahmadābād.



م سہترمالیہ عبداللہ بن گجہار ؟ — ایرنا بن نیمچنا سہتر آہنگر—لینگنا بن درجیو ؟ —  
 ملاورا بن ہنمنت سہتر درودگر—لمرا بن سیوامہتر کنیہار—کمل دیو بہت بن سیہ بہت—ہیم بہت بن  
 شنکر بہت جوشے—امرتا سبرپتی جنگم—شنکر بن ایتا سہتر حجام—دیریا بن دھولو سہتر کاسو—  
 کو بن کیچی—جکھو بن ایکوہنا بن لکھوہنا بن لکھو جکھو سہتر مانگ—مایان بن گوما حلوائی ؟

## TRANSLATION

(1) (We) all the Mahājans and the Balūtās (i.e. village functionaries)<sup>1</sup> of the town (*Qaṣba*) of Hukerī have (thus) given in writing:

That we have granted one *Chāwar* of land of (i.e. originally belonging to ?) Jay Seṭhī which is situated in the vicinity of the *Kāranja* (i.e. Water-Storage-Tank) (in endowment) for (the upkeep of) the *Kāranja* and the Guest-house (*Mihmān-Khāna*) which have been constructed by Maṇṣūr Khān for the sake of Allāh (i.e. for the use of the general public) (with the proviso that) three-fourth (of the income accruing) out of it (i.e. out of the produce of the land) is (meant) for the *Kāranja* and the remaining one-fourth for the Guest-house. And Maṇṣūr Khān had given custody of the land to Mirān son of Ḥasan (for cultivation). The Assembly abjures

(2) that if a Muslim violates (lit. turns away from) this Assembly-Decision-by-Agreement, he would (be deemed to) have turned a Christian and if an Unbeliever (i.e. a Hindū) annuls it, he would (be considered to) have killed a cow and eaten it in Banāras (Vārāṇasī) and Kāshī and committed fornication. And this *Mahḍar* has been written in the Assembly (of persons) whose names are written below: Qāḍī Malik son of Shaiḥ Muḥammad Khaṭīb; Sayyid Ḥamid son of Sayyid Maḥdūm; Mullā Ḥusain son of Mullā Muḥammad; Ḥasan son of Naṣru'llāh; Shaiḥ Ḥusain; Sālār Jī'ū son of Tāju'd-Dīn;

(3) Yal Gaundā son-in-law of Tānī Gaundā; Lakmoji son of Kisan Gaundā; Kokū son of Lokū Desḥkulkarnī; Māl Nāyak son of Nāg Nāyak; Muḥammad Nāyak son of Shaiḥ Nāyak; 'Alāu'd-Dīn Nāyak son of Baṣhīr Nāyak; Nāg Nāyak; Ling Nāyak; Naras Nāyak son of Kalgaundā Patel; Han Seṭhī son of Kām Seṭhī; Vināyak Seṭhī son of Hirbū Seṭhī; Konkāl Dev Seṭhī; Joklāsā (or Joglāsā) son of Sārīt (?) Seṭhī, Head (*Mihtar*) of the *Telis* (Oil-crushers); Abāji son of Sirām Kulkarnī;

(4) Head (*Mihtar*) of Mālis (Gardeners), 'Abdu'llāh son of Gajhār (?); Irannā son of Nimchannā, Head (*Mihtar*) *Āhangar* (Blacksmith); Lingannā son of *Darjī'ū* (Tailor); Malāwarā son of Hanumant, the Head (*Mihtar*) *Darūdgar* (Carpenter); Lamrā son of Sīvā, the Head (*Mihtar*) *Kumbhār* (Potter); Kamāl Dev Bhaṭ son of Sī(n)ha Bhaṭ; Hem Bhaṭ son of Shankar Bhaṭ (the) *Joshī* (Astrologer); Amritāmbarpaṭī *Jangam* (Priest); Shankar son of Ītammā, the Head (*Mihtar*) *Hajjām* (Barber); Deriyyā son of Dholū, the Head (*Mihtar*) *Kāsū* (Washerman); Kav son of Kichī; Jakhū son of Ekū Honā son of Lakhū Honā son of Lakhū Jakhū, the Head (*Mihtar*) *Māng* (Menial); (and) Māyān son of Gomā *Ḥalwā'i* (?) (i.e. Confectioner).

It is rather surprising that nothing is known about Maṇṣūr Khān, who was responsible for the *Mahḍar* under study, from other sources. Chronicles totally ignore him. The *Mahḍar* also, it may be noted, does not mention him as *Hāḍir-Majlis*, but in view of the evidence of the Jāmi' mosque epigraph quoted in the preceding lines, it is reasonable to hold that he was left in charge, perhaps as deputy, of the Hukerī *pargana*. In that capacity only, he

<sup>1</sup> Balūtā is a Marāṭhī word meaning a village officer or servant. It is used for a group of these functionaries usually twelve in number. For a detailed note on the various appellations, duties, etc., see Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-56. Balūt also means the portion of the crop assigned to the village servants for their maintenance, also their fees, perquisites, or other rights (*ibid.*, p. 56).

could have made the Assembly take the decision of the endowment of the Jai Seṭhi land for the two works of public utility. The text is not clear as to whether the land belonged to Jai Seṭhi at the time of the decision or the endowment was made voluntarily by the owner of the land or in consideration of any payment or like favour to him or the land, then under government occupation, was traditionally known after its earlier owner. In any case, Maṇṣūr Khān who was responsible for three monuments including two for the use of general public and who, as the *Mahḍar* implies, was in charge of the area, would have remained totally unknown but for these inscriptions which are, thus too, quite important.

The form of this Persian *Mahḍar*—designated as such in the text (line 1)—broadly conforms to the pattern of the *Mahḍar* of the Marāṭhī documents. A study of the Marāṭhī *Mahḍars* quoted by Mr. Gune shows that a *Mahḍar* was generally presided over by the foremost person in authority at the village or *Pargana*—usually the governor or his Deputy or the *Dīwān* consisting of the *Hākīm-i-Shar'* i.e. the Qāḍī. In the present case too, the first signatory and hence, it is reasonable to suppose, the head of the assembly present at the *Mahḍar*, was the Qāḍī, Malik by name. Immediately following the Qāḍī, five more Muslims are mentioned as signatories to the document.<sup>1</sup> While their post or profession or even status, social or otherwise, is not specified, they can be safely taken to represent the Muslim elite of the town, but it is difficult to say if they enjoyed any official status and had been in that capacity, members of the caucus or the *Dīwān*.

Very probably they did not. For a glance at the list of signatories shows that the usual form of a *Mahḍar* document is not strictly maintained in all its details as described above (p. 57, *supra*). There is apparently no order of precedence in the persons representing the *Dīwān*, the *Got*, the *Balūtās*, the *Khūms*, the *Brahmasabhā*, etc. Hence it may perhaps not be quite correct to take persons listed in the text, as enjoying preference in status as well. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain the fact that here the name of the *Pargana* Record-keeper (*Deshkulkarnī*) occurs third, that of the village Foreman (*Paṭel*) ninth and that of the village Record-keeper (*Kulkarnī*) fifteenth. In case, however, the list is taken to indicate preference of status, it would supply very interesting information about the social system then prevalent. This point could be settled by a comparative study of the full texts of all *Mahḍars* which I regret is not possible for me due to lack of library facilities here at Nāgpur. But on the face of it, there does appear some sort of order of preference in the mention of names.

I may conclude this article by analysing the list: the list is headed, as stated above by Qāḍī Malik, closely followed by five other Muslim members of the Assembly in the concluding portion of line 1. Then come in line 2, the names Yal Gaundā and Lakmoji Gaundā. It is interesting to note that these two names have preference over the name of the *Deshkulkarnī*, which immediately follows theirs. This may perhaps be taken to signify their higher status in official hierarchy. Again, while the parentage of Lakmoji Gaundā is given, that of Yal Gaundā is not given, but instead his relation from wife's side is expressed; could he have inherited *Deshpānde* or like rights from his father-in-law? That might explain the preference. The third name is that of *Deshkulkarnī* or the *Pargana* Record-keeper. His presence in the *Mahḍar* may be taken to indicate that the assembly was held at the *Pargana*-level unless the Village-Assembly was attended by him as a resident of the town. The next five persons in the list have the *Nāyak*<sup>2</sup> surname—they belong to both the Hindū and the Muslim community.

<sup>1</sup> The text does not call them signatories, nor do their signatures occur therein, whether in words supported by seals or signs as was the wont in paper-documents. But in effect, it being so, I have used this term here.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāyak* means a leader, head of a small body of soldiers, head of a party of labourers, etc. It has also come to mean a petty official, a peon, watchman or police-officer. For details, see Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 372, columns 1-2.

The ninth person in the list also carries the appellation Nāyak, but he is also mentioned as *Paṭel*,<sup>1</sup> unless the latter is taken to be his father's designation. The next four names proclaim the Shetty class—the officers of the mart in Mr. Gune's classification. The last of these names, Joklāsā (or Joglāsā) is followed by the appellation *Mihtar-Teli* meaning the Head of the guild of oilmen (either oil-makers or oil-sellers or probably oil-maker-cum-sellers). Whether this designation relates to the preceding name Joklāsā (or Joglāsā) or to the name Abāji following it, it is difficult to determine for want of punctuation marks; but the last-mentioned carries the designation *Kulkarni*<sup>2</sup> (either meant for him or his father after whose name it occurs). In any case, it does not appear likely that *Mihtar-Teli* by itself represents a separate unnamed person.

The fourteenth name, just mentioned, is 'Abāji son of Sirām *Kulkarni*'—whether Abāji was the *Kulkarni* or his father, it is difficult to say, but it would appear that the post or tenure was held by the son.

Then follows the list of persons, fifteen in all, who belonged to the class of *Khūm*—craftsmen, tradesmen and other petty village functionaries or artisans such as the chief of the Guild of Gardeners (*Mihtar-Māli*), the chief of the Guild of Blacksmiths (*Mihtar-Āhangar*), the Tailor (*Darjī'ū*), the chief of the Guild of Carpenters (*Mihtar-Darūdgar*), the chief of the Guild of the Potters (*Mihtar-Kumbhār*), the village Astrologer (*Joshī*) (whose surname Bhaṭ is also recorded), the village Priest (*Jangam*),<sup>3</sup> the chief of the Guild of the Barbers (*Mihtar-Ḥajjām*), the chief of the Guild of Menials (*Mihtar-Māng*);<sup>4</sup> etc., and the Confectioner (*Ḥalwā'i*).<sup>5</sup> In between, occur names of three more persons whose professional affiliations are not specified.

This *Maḥḍar* containing names of thirty-three persons in all, was, thus a body of the village or town or area, on which all sections of the people were represented and they had at least theoretically a say in the decision of the matters that came up for its consideration.

In conclusion, the violation-curse used here calls for a brief comment. All such agreements, royal orders of levy or remission or deeds of endowment, contain a clause condemning the violators of the orders to what is considered in their creeds or religions, unpardonable sins. These usually single out, apart from officials, in some cases, two chief communities—the Hindūs and the Muslims. It is in the case of the latter that instead of invoking the usual curse of the Divorce or of eating Pig or invocation of wrath of Allāh and His Prophet or the like, the present record prescribes a novel curse or condemnation, namely of having become, in the event of violation, a Christian. This is interesting in showing perhaps the extent of the hatred in which the Christians, otherwise regarded as Men of the Book<sup>6</sup> and therefore enjoying some weightage in certain things as compared to those not of the Book, were held by the Muslim public of the region. The reason of this extreme dislike may perhaps be seen in the happenings on the coastal region of Goā on the immediate west where the Portuguese, professing the faith of Christ, had already started making encroachments on the sovereignty in the region of the 'Adil Shāhī rulers of Bijāpur in whose territory Hukeri lay.

<sup>1</sup> *Paṭel* is the headman of a village, a principal agent in the realisation of the revenue, etc. For details, see Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 407, column 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Kulkarni* is one of the principal village functionaries under the *Paṭel*. See *ibid.*, p. 300, column 2.

<sup>3</sup> According to Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 231, column 1, *Jangam* is 'the priest of the Lingāyat Sect, who, although not a Brāhman, officiates at their religious rites; where the population of a village consists in any large proportion of his disciples, he is a member of the establishment and holds rent-free lands, thence known as *Jangama Inām*. He is sometimes domesticated in *maṭhs*, or monasteries, and otherwise is a vagrant living on alms'.

<sup>4</sup> According to *ibid.*, p. 328, column 2, *Māng* is 'a low caste, or individual of it, employed in low and menial offices: as a member of the village, the *Māng* commonly officiates as scavenger, guide, watchman and executioner'.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting that this purely Persian term used in north-India for the confectioner is used in a record thus far south.

<sup>6</sup> *Ahl-i-Kitāb* or People of the Book, i.e. the Christians and the Jews.

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